1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

they speak different languages; and it is necessary they should, for their villages are not more than six miles apart. The Mandans speak the same tongue of the Osage, but have a different accent, and dialect. They were once a numerous, war-like people, but have been reduced by the smallpox, and by their enemies, the Sioux, to less than four hundred warriors." (Pages 180 to 183 LeRaye's journal.)

After having tarried eight days with the Mandans, LeRaye and his Indian escorts left there, arriving on the 13th July, 1802, at the Gros Ventre village "on the lower side of the Batteau (Knife) river," called the Meniture village. Another village, called Meni-tar-u-miti-ha-tah, is situated on the upper side of the Batteau river. These villages are larger than the Mandans, built in the same manner, and containing about 600 warriors, and about 2500 inhabitants. They were formerly more numerous, but the smallpox has made its ravages among them. These people deposit their dead in the same manner as the Mandans, but at a greater distance from their villages."

Marriage Ceremony. Here LeRaye gives interesting particulars of an Indian marriage ceremony at the last mentioned village: "Proclamation was made, by one of the relations, that on the next day, in the morning, the marriage would be celebrated." The next morning "The company assembled at her father's lodge, where the chief of the village attended. He informed the company, that the young man, calling him by name, intended to take the girl, calling her by name, to be his wife. He then asked each of them if that were their intention, which each of them answered in the affirmative. The chief then handed them a small rod, which was broken between them. The groom then broke his part into a number of small pieces, and handed them to the men who stood near to him. The bride did the same with her part of the rod, which consummated the marriage. Fire was then brought, and the sacred pipe was lighted. After all the men had smoked in it, the dance commenced, which was continued for several hours." Down to the point of smoking, the foregoing seems to have been strikingly similar to the usual civilized marriage ceremony of those times.

Rocky Mountain Hunt. After a feast on July 2nd, 1802, the Indians, still holding LeRaye, and accompanied by Pardo, set out on the fall hunt to the Yellowstone and the Rocky mountains;

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ber of bones were scattered on the ground underneath. This mode of exposing the dead has something peculiarly horrible in it. The wolves of the prairie, the birds of the air, and even the Indian dogs, are attracted to the place, and taught to feed on human flesh.

"This custom prevails amongst all the wandering tribes; but amongst the Arikara, the dead are deposited in a grave as with us, which I think clearly proves their origin to be different from that of their neighbors; for there is nothing, in which men in all ages and countries, have manifested more solicitude, than in the treatment of the remains of their deceased friends."

Le Borgne. Brackenridge's vivid description of the Gros Ventre chief, Le Borgne or the One Eyed, is found below. The two chiefs were present at a celebration had by the whites at the Mandan villages on July 4th. He says:

"The two principal chiefs happened to be with us; the One Eyed, and the Black Shoe. The former is a giant in stature, and if his one eye had been placed in the middle of his forehead, he might have passed for a cyclop. His huge limbs and gigantic frame, his bushy hair shading his coarse visage and savage features, with his one eye flashing fire, constituted him a fearful demon. He sways, with unlimited control, all these villages, and is feared by all the neighboring nations. I remarked that on one or two occasions he treated She-he-ke, with great contempt. Lisa having referred to something said by that chief, 'What,' said this monster, 'What. Does that bag of lies pretend to have any authority here?'. He is sometimes a cruel and abominable tyrant."

Brackenridge then relates how the ruthless old outlaw murdered a young warrior who came to him to reclaim his wife who had been forcibly taken by that chief in her husband's absence, the mother of the slain warrior having lost her mind in grief over the dastardly act.

Brackenridge adds in a note: "She-he-ke is a fat man, extremely talkative, and no great warrior."

In his "Views of Louisiana," Brackenridge thus summarizes as to the tribes at the Mandan villages:

"Mandans, or Gros Ventres—The remnants of a number of villages, according to their account, seventeen. They claim only

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ern group adopted it between 1550 and 1600, retaining a modified rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes thereafter until the native population moved onto the Reservation. Whereas emphasis was on cord-impressed pottery at the Heart River, the southern group emphasized incised pottery. As contacts between the two groups increased when the southern group moved northward, the frequency of cord wares increased. According to tradition, the Awigaxa Mandan were last to abandon the Grand River region and move onto the Missouri at Painted Woods. There they adopted the Okipa with the prescribed lodge arrangement around an open circle, but we find that in these traditional sites the frequency of cord wares never equaled that of the northern Mandan.

The earlier earth-lodge sites occupied by the various Hidatsa village groups, though generally showing close similarity in traits to those of the Mandan, have a few diagnostic differences. These are an abundance of check stamped pottery, considerable cord-roughened wares, absence of fortifications with ditch and bastions, and lack of lodge orientation within the village. The sites on the Missouri River that can be identified as having been occupied by the Hidatsa groups from native traditions, and these diagnostic traits, are neither numerous nor of long occupation. With two exceptions, the sites are situated north of the Heart River. Downstream from the mouth of the Knife River, the villages consisted of clusters of earth lodges occupied during the summer months while practicing agriculture. Earth-lodge villages are generally absent along the Missouri upstream from the mouth of Knife River; in that region cultural manifestations are found in thin lens-shaped deposits, suggesting that temporary shelters, probably hide tepees, were used. These sites, both earth lodge and temporary, which can be identified with the historic Hidatsa and Crow groups, have been classified as belonging to the Painted Woods focus. Similar sites are also found on the Sheyenne River to the east from which these groups traditionally moved to the Missouri. Studies of pottery at Awatixa, the longest occupied site of the Hidatsa, indicate that, whereas the lower levels show close ties with the Shultz site on the Sheyenne, the late prehistoric and early historic levels show closest ties to that of the Mandan. None of the sites

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other than the Awatixa site at the mouth of Knife River show long occupation; this substantiates native traditions that the Awatixa lived longest on the Missouri and that the Hidatsa and Awaxawi were last to arrive.

The archeological evidence collaborates traditions of both the Mandan and the Hidatsa groups relative to migrations and period of residence on the Missouri. The Mandan were first to move onto the Missouri and establish villages. On this earliest cultural horizon, those farthest north had rectangular semi-subterranean lodges and pottery that was decorated with impressed cord. The southern groups built small circular earth lodges; their pottery was lighter in color and was decorated predominantly with incised bodies and rims. As the southern groups moved northward to join the northern groups, each group borrowed from the other. The northern groups adopted the circular earth lodge and incised pottery, while the southern groups adopted the open circle, rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes, and pottery with cord-impressed decorations and grooved-paddle impressed bodies. By A.D. 1600 the entire Mandan population was living at or above the Heart River, having abandoned the Missouri to the south to the nomadic groups.

During the century 1600–1700, group after group of Hidatsa and Crow moved westward and occupied sections of the Missouri and its tributaries. According to native traditions, which can be verified by the depth of refuse accumulation at Awatixa village site at the mouth of Knife River, this village group was first to reach the Missouri. At this time the Awatixa were united with the Crow, who separated at the Missouri, those who remained agricultural and settled at the mouth of Knife River being known as the Awatixa and the nomadic group who moved westward onto the Little Missouri being known as Crow. This migration was followed by the Awaxawi a short time later. They came as agriculturalists and settled below the mouth of Knife River at Painted Woods, where the southern Mandan had built after leaving the Grand River. The last migration of Hidatsa and Crow followed a number of years later. According to the traditions of both the Mandan and the Hidatsa groups, this last migration was of a nomadic peoples who had lived northeastward of Devils Lake. This group occupied the territory up-

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stream from the Knife River, where they separated after quarreling over the division of a buffalo. Those who moved farther upstream along the Missouri and Yellowstone became the "Paunch" Indians, while those who remained near the other Hidatsa villages were known as the Hidatsa.

By 1700 the entire section of the Missouri from the Cannonball to the mouth of the Yellowstone was occupied by groups of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow of the "Paunch" band. The greatest concentration of villages was near the mouth of Heart River. These large earth-lodge villages were occupied by Mandan of the Nuptadi and Nuitadi bands and were situated on both banks of the Missouri. Agriculture was intensively practiced by these groups. Farther upstream at the Painted Woods, the Awigaxa band of Mandan and the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa had villages. The Awatixa band of Hidatsa were on the south bank of Knife River. Agriculture was practiced by all these groups. North of Knife River were the less agricultural Hidatsa, who sometimes came to the north bank of Knife River to occupy their large earth-lodge village and to plant corn. Generally they were farther upstream, on the Mouse River, or in the Turtle Mountains, living as nomadic hunters. Immediately to the west of the more nomadic Hidatsa were the nomadic Crow. These groups had prescribed territories and lived peacefully together so long as one group did not infringe on the territorial rights of the others. These groups moved little until the close of the eighteenth century, when the aboriginal population was sharply reduced by smallpox and other epidemics. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the region below the Cannonball was occupied by nomadic groups who were in part replaced by the Arikara after 1725 when they began their northward migration which did not terminate until 1862, at which time they united with the survivors of the Mandan and Hidatsa villages at Fishhook Village.

In another report the writer has analyzed the ceremonial organizations of the various village groups of Mandan and Hidatsa, using genealogies, historic accounts of travelers, and native traditions and has shown that two distinct inheritance patterns existed: (1) the Mandan pattern of inheritance of principal bundles and rites within the clan and (2) the Hidatsa and

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Awaxawi pattern, which provided for the inheritance of bundles and rites from the father or a member of the father's clan.[30] In this respect, the Awatixa, who have the longest traditional history of residence near the Mandan, were intermediate, having features of both systems.

TABLE 1

INTERTRIBAL AND INTERVILLAGE CULTURAL BORROWING

Ceremony	Mandan	Hidatsa	Awatixa	Awaxawi
Okipa	x			
Corn and Fertility	x			
Old Woman Never Dies	x	x	x	x
Small Hawk	x			
Snow Owl	x			
Robe bundles	x			
Shell Robe	x		x	
Knife clan bundle			x	
Water-buster clan bundle			x	
Earth-naming		x		x
Hide-beating (Sun Dance)		x	x	x
Bear	x	x	x	x
Imitating Buffalo		x	x	x
Painted Red Stick	x	x		x
Buffalo Corral	x	x	x	x
Buffalo Neckbone	x	x	x	x
Sunset Wolf		x	x	x
Sunrise Wolf*		x	x	x
Thunder	x	x	x	x
Missouri River		x	x	x
Creek	x		x	
Earth-lodge-making	x		x	
Sacred Pot	x			x
Woman Above	x	x	x	x
Holy Woman	x	x	x	x
Eagle-trapping	x	x	x	x
Fish-trapping	x	x	x	x

* The Mandan had a Wolf rite inherited through the Prairie Chicken clan, but the features of the rites are only remotely similar to the Hidatsa Wolf ceremonies.

Table 1 indicates the extent of intertribal and intervillage cultural borrowing which had occurred between the Mandan and Hidatsa village groups with respect to ceremonies performed.

30. Bowers, *op. cit.*

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614 421 The clan was the medium for the transfer of property when a family died out without leaving descendants. When an individual died, leaving no relatives, the clan took possession of the property. The lodge was occupied by females of the same clan or could be sold to women of a different clan. It was the duty of the clan to assist a female member in repairing or building her lodge and to put up property for one of its number who was inviting [424] the opposite moiety to assist in building a new lodge. The clan owned certain names which belonged within the clan and were not sold outside the clan.

614 621 171 The clans extended through all the villages of the tribe and were in part equated with Hidatsa clans. Both tribes had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Metsiroka. The Hidatsa also had a few people of the Speckled Eagle clan who were said to be of Mandan origin.[4]

614 578 It was the duty of the clan to revenge the killing of one of its members. In the event of the murder of one of its number, the murderer would attempt to escape to the Crow, since the Hidatsa would not protect a murderer from the Mandan villages for fear of war between the two tribes.

614 The clan assisted at the death of a son. They prepared the body for the scaffold and sent the spirit away. It was also the duty of the father's clan to bring the skull of one dying away from the village back for disposal. Feasts were given to the members of the father's clan, and help was asked of individual members by those contemplating war expeditions. Men of the father's clan inserted the thongs for a faster. The permanent

4. The Hidatsa give a different account of the origin of this clan. Mrs. Bears Arm, a member of the clan, stated that there was a Mandan woman of the Prairie Chicken clan who was childless. She was a hard worker and had large gardens. One morning when she went to her gardens she noticed that someone had been hoeing the corn. She inquired in the village if someone had been working in her garden and could find none who had been working there. She went out before daylight to see who it was. Several whitetail deer were working in the garden. They ran away when they saw the woman. As they disappeared, she heard one say, "I left my baby there." The baby was a speckled eagle. She took the baby home to rear as her own and wanted the child to belong to the Prairie Chicken clan, but the others would not agree to it, since the child came of a different source. The child grew up and had children who were known as speckled eagles. While living below the Knife River, men of the Awaxawi village married a few girls of that clan and brought them to their own village to live. The group is treated as a lineage of the Hidatsa Prairie Chicken clan.

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lation of refuse in the remainder of the village this open circle took on the character of a sunken area within the village. This open area appears as frequently near the edges of the abandoned village sites as in the approximate centers. These sunken areas within the ruins of ancient sites downstream from the last Mandan villages distinguish ancient Mandan villages from those of other tribes. In ruins such as occur at the Larson or Motsiff sites, where there was a considerable accumulation of refuse within the village, the sunken area was very pronounced. At the Deapolis Site, where the interlodge refuse was thin, the open circle appeared as a slight depression with a low mound where the cedar stood.

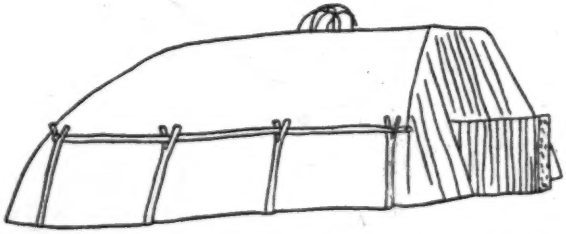

FIG. 13.—Plan of Okipa ceremonial lodge. (Drawn by White Calf.)

The three Hidatsa village groups in general lacked the open circle arrangement of lodges, although the Hidatsa proper in later years marked off a section within the village where dancing was done and where lodges were not permitted. There was neither a cedar, special ceremonial lodge, nor inner circle of lodges facing a common center. The Awatixa and Awaxawi villages lacked all semblance of lodge orientation, leaving only sufficient space between for corn scaffolds and passageways.

The Arikara plan shows considerable variation as to age. The protohistoric and early historic sites frequently had a special ceremonial lodge in the approximate center of the village, but all villages did not have ceremonial lodges. A limited area adjacent to the ceremonial lodge was used for the dances, but the neighboring lodges were not arranged in a circle, and there was no orientation of lodge entrances toward the center. More recent historic Arikara villages had definite open circles with orientation of lodges toward the center, where the ceremonial lodge

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

stood. This lodge was circular in outline and differed from the regular earth lodges only by its greater size.

The open-circle concept was definitely established among the Mandan at a very early date according to the archeological evidence from the Heart River region.[2] There is some evidence in the Grand River region of the Mandan-type open-circle village arrangement, but the situation there is in most instances obscured by subsequent Arikara occupations.

Lone Man, according to tradition, established the custom of leaving an open area within each village for dancing. Later, when he was leaving the tribe, he erected a Red-painted cedar, as a symbol of his body and of all the Mandans who had lived before. The cedar was surrounded by a wall of cottonwood planks as a symbol of the wall he erected to protect the people from the flood. A water willow surrounding the planks marked the highest advance of the flood waters. He also established the custom of maintaining a special ceremonial lodge in each village and taught the ceremonies associated with its construction. The lodge was a symbol of Dog Den Butte where Hoita (the speckled eagle) imprisoned all living things. Six central posts were used making it oblong in form, with a flat side facing the open circle.[3] Lone Man also established the WəxikEna and Tamisik clans and indicated their seating arrangement in the ceremonial lodge. He divided the lodge into two halves, the left half or east side belonging to the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, and five other clans of that moiety. The right side belonged to the WaxikEna, Tamisik, Tamixixiks and three other clans of that moiety.

According to the sacred myths the moiety and clan system was as follows prior to the smallpox epidemics:

West-Side Moiety (Buffalo)	East-Side Moiety (Corn)
Waxi'kEna (Tell Bad News)	Sipuska'numak (Prairie Chicken People)
Tami'sik (no meaning)	Ipoka'numak (Speckled Eagle People)
Tami'xixiks (Bad Strap)	Mato'domak (Bear People)
[Three extinct clans whose names are not now remembered]	MasE'domak (Red Hill People)
	Amaka'domak (Badger People)
	HoxExaka'numak (Crow People)
	Manakasa'numak (People in Grove)

2. By 1500 in sites of the Huff focus in villages of rectangular lodges.

3. This was the habitation lodge which was retained for ceremonial purposes when the circular earth lodge was adopted shortly before 1600.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

on war expeditions, and during the summer buffalo hunt. Of these four, only during one, the Okipa ceremony, was fasting done within the village. This is in sharp contrast with the Hidatsa custom of fasting during many bundle-transfer ceremonies. Crows Heart preferred to fast away from the village, thinking that women were less inclined to conform to tribal custom, which made dreams hard to get.

A man who advised and instructed his own sons in the benefits to be attained from fasting would be abusive with his sister's sons whom he did not believe were making enough effort to secure supernatural guardians. He would use the argument that it would enhance the prestige of the clan. He would talk of an occasion when other young men would be fasting in the Okipa and state that he would expect the "younger brother" to be there, and he would give him goods to pay the officers for that privilege. The older male members of the various clans were especially watchful to see that the sections reserved for the clans were well filled. The other clans laughed at those who had only a few fasting during the ceremony.

Not all who fasted either alone beyond the village limits or during the Okipa did so with the expectation of having a vision. Nor were visions received each time. Self-privation was believed to please the supernatural, and both individual and general well-being was the natural consequence. Although boys began to fast at the age of eight or nine because they were advised to, the serious seeking of guardian spirits or vision experiences was not made until the property-owning age was reached and shortly after marriage.

Three methods were employed in gaining supernatural experiences. Some would fast in various ways; others would inflict torture; and still others would make presents of valued property. Of the three, offering of valued goods was considered the hardest to do, since it required much work to amass the goods.

Self-torture administered during the Okipa ceremony was more severe than that practiced in any of the Hidatsa ceremonies; otherwise the customs of the two tribes differed little as to severity of the measures employed. The father's clansmen prepared the young man for the torture feature by securing and inserting the thongs. Suspension of the one tortured was not em-

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ployed by the Hidatsa in the NaxpikE ceremony, the Sun Dance equivalent of that tribe, as was the case with the Mandans in their Okipa ceremony, where the one tortured was suspended until he became unconscious. This practice was modified in later years to conform with the Hidatsa custom.

The custom of cutting off fingers in mourning was universally practiced by the women but rarely by the men. The sacrifice of fingers as a means of self-torture was practiced by men and in only a few instances by women who, upon the death of a relative through warfare, sought by self-torture to revenge the relative's slaying at a time when her brothers contemplated a retaliatory raid on the enemy's camp during which time she would be fasting. Those seeking visions used a buffalo skull to cut the fingers on when a vision was sought.

Four Bears' fasting record at the base of a large oak tree in which a raven had its young, to learn the name of the Arikara who had killed his brother, is still related as an example of the power which the supernatural had to clarify past deeds and bring success to the one adopted.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF FOUR BEARS[1]

A Mandan named Four Bears sent his younger brother out with the horses to a spot farther from the village where there was more grass. The Arikara came and killed the boy. The men found him with a spear stuck through his body, which was a challenge to Four Bears to come and fight if he thought he was lucky. Four Bears went out and brought the boy back to the village and saved the spear. He had already fasted in the Okipa and had many gods, but he began fasting again. He would fast and cry for seven days and nights without food and then come back to the village to rest. Then he would go out fasting again. He fasted near a high tree in which the ravens had a nest. He cut the flesh on his chest and inserted sticks with which he hung from the tree until he fell exhausted. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. One time he cut off a finger and offered it to the People Above and the raven that had its nest there.

The bird said, "It is an easy thing. You will find the man who killed your brother." The raven promised him that he could also bring rain. The bird added, "The one who killed your brother is named Bear Necklace, and he is the one you should kill."

In those days the dogs had names, so a clan father of Four Bears brought a dog to Four Bears to name, and he gave it the name Bear Necklace even before he killed the man. When Four Bears killed the Arikara without losing a man, and everything happened just as he had said the raven had predicted, he was highly respected.

1. This incident is mentioned in George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 238–41.

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mal feasts to which the older people were invited and was considered selfish, in spite of the fact that he probably fed more people than those who offered feasts from time to time.

It was the duty of all to fast, but few could inherit tribal bundles. After the smallpox of 1837, there was probably a much higher percentage of the population owning these hereditary tribal bundles. Visions could be bought and sold like hereditary bundles, but their existence was usually short-lived unless they became incorporated into hereditary bundle rites. A man ordinarily did not boast of the bundles he owned. Instead, he would boast of the potency of the bundles. The Hidatsa custom of buying the father's bundle because he dreamed of it was not the Mandan way. A Mandan bought because he was expected to, and people would condemn him for failing to buy. The man would ask his son to buy. If he had no son, but a son-in-law was living in the lodge, he would ask him to buy. Instruction was direct between seller and buyer, whereas the Hidatsa used a member of the father's clan as intermediary. Moves Slowly did not dream of the Corn Medicine before buying. He was hereditarily entitled to it. When one of the Mandan Corn bundles reached the Awaxawi,[17] Poor Wolf bought because he dreamed of it. The Hidatsa performed a ceremony because they had a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Little Eagle, the Numak-naxEna bundle-owner, was killed in war, and his wives automatically became the bundle-owners. When they remarried, their second husband received permission from them to officiate in the Okipa until White Calf, their son, was of proper age to assume the office. He had not dreamed of the bundle. The NaxpikE or Hide-beating ceremony of the Hidatsa was never given except when one who was a son of a man having this bundle received a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Such was not the custom in giving the Okipa. Permission must be given by the Okipa Society because an eligible candidate either had received vision instruction or had a feeling of responsibility to give it. So we see that even between these two groups, the Mandan and Hidatsa, who have lived in close contacts for a few centuries, some fundamental differences in ceremonial organization persisted.

17. A Hidatsa band.

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Chapter VII

EAGLE-TRAPPING CEREMONY[1]

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CAPTURING eagles from concealed pits[2] was practiced by all tribes of the Northern Plains. So far as our meager information indicates, the technique was essentially the same for a large number of tribes occupying territory adjacent to the Mandan and Hidatsa. Less is known of the ceremonial aspect of the practice, organization of expeditions, values of feathers for decoration, number of leaders, inheritance of rites and skills, or the socioreligious position of its shaman.

Shooting young developed eagles was uncommon, but both Mandan and Hidatsa informants claimed that the Crows made less use of pits, since they lived near the Rocky Mountains, where most of the birds nested and were able to shoot them in trees or near decoys. Such information as the literature gives indicates that all the tribes of the Upper Missouri River Region adjacent to the Mandan and Hidatsa used the pit method of trapping.

In this discussion of eagle-trapping it is proposed to indicate the territory claimed by the Mandan and Hidatsa, the technique of securing birds, mythological background, inheritance of rights to trap, as well as the economic and religious position of leaders in the tribal life.[3]

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Eagle-trapping by the Mandan and Hidatsa was confined to the rough lands adjacent to wooded streams. The ceremonial lodge for the men and the wood or hide tepees for the women and children were always erected in sheltered spots among the high trees along streams, while the pits were dug on the top or

1. For a detailed account of practices associated with eagle-trapping see Gilbert Livingston Wilson, *Hidatsa Eagle Trapping* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXX [1929]), pp. 99–245.

2. For Maximilian's short account of eagle-trapping see Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, XXIII (Cleveland, 1906), 346.

3. Eagle-trapping rites and beliefs for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa are treated together in this chapter, since tribal differences were insignificant.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

clan or who had occupied unclaimed territory, erected his own lodge, and marked the outlines of pits. Inheritance of trapping sites was through the clan, and one could not secure permanent ownership of a trapping site owned by a man of a different clan. The nearest clan relative took possession of the site upon the death of the owner if it had not been sold. One could pay for permission to use a particular site for a season from one of a different clan when the owner did not intend to make use of it himself, but he was obliged to use the pits already dug and could not prepare new ones. In other words, a man could rent a site from an owner of a different clan, but he could not buy. When a site had been abandoned so long that its owner was not known, another could claim the site. Evidently little trouble was experienced over claims to sites, since a violator would have been severely criticized. There was, in addition, a religious taboo, since both the eagles and the bears belonging to the ritual occupied major bundle status in each tribe, and a trespasser could never have attained a position of prominence in either tribe.

The ritualistic differences between the Mandan and Hidatsa were no greater than those between separate bundle lines within the same village. Wolf Chief's narrative (to be quoted later) illustrates the extent to which one tribe borrowed from the other in purchasing an eagle-trapping bundle. His father, Small Ankles, purchased his rights from Big Cloud, who advised him to receive his instructions from Arrowhead Earrings, a Mandan, who was better informed. A study of individual bundle lines reveals that borrowing back and forth has been going on regularly since the smallpox epidemic of 1837, and from traditional information from informants this also applied to all their neighboring tribes as well. In native theory the particular ritual practiced at any time depended on these three factors: (1) the instructions received when the bundle was transferred; (2) elements of other eagle-trapping bundle rituals purchased; and (3) vision instructions.

A bundle-owner could sell his rights four times, and it was only when the fourth sale was made that the original bundle was transferred, new bundles being made up for the first three sales. The amount of instruction received depended on the desires of

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Big Cloud's bundle was not complete; Iron Eyes had a main one.[22] Small Ankles would put up the lodge and put the snake pole in with the buffalo skull. He tied it into place with dark sage. I heard that once Old Woman's Grandson came in so they had the two poles brought in at that time to represent the snake.[23]

With respect to inheritance of trapping rights, rather marked differences exist between the Hidatsa and the Mandan. The former employed exclusively transfer from father to son or from individuals standing in the father-son relationship. Not a single instance of variation from the rule was observed except in the instance of Big Cloud's two sales to Wolf Eyes and Small Ankles. No doubt that exception can be traced to the circumstance that, though belonging to the Hidatsa Water-buster clan, Big Cloud lived in one of the Mandan villages with his Mandan father and Hidatsa mother. Hidatsa sales of trapping rights followed the normal pattern of bundle transfer from father to son, with a clan brother of the seller acting as sponsor to give instruction and prepare the bundle. Frequently a purchaser's brothers assisted in a joint purchase, taking possession upon death of the brother, but the next transfer would be to the son of original purchaser or his brother's son.

The small village of Awaxawi apparently had been strongly influenced by the Mandan, and clan inheritance was followed if the two bundles purchased just after the smallpox of 1837 were characteristic of all bundles formerly in the village prior to that epidemic.

Mandan inheritance of eagle-trapping bundles was affected by numerous factors. Except for the last generation in which it was from father to son, or other individuals standing in that relationship, inheritance was generally from one standing in the relationship of *pta'wadato'dE*, a special kinship term for the mother's brother and the mother's mother's brother. In tracing back inheritance of Mandan eagle-trapping bundles, one is impressed by a sudden change within a single generation to the Hidatsa pattern of purchasing from the father.

Iron Eyes' bundle had belonged in the WaxikEna clan for several generations. He purchased from his mother's brother before the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook

22. He means the principal bundle.
23. See the myth of Old Woman Who Never Dies, chap. vi, above.

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over from the women's camp. Afterward the trapper smoked. Each trapper, after eating, discussed happenings at the pit, and, from the information thus supplied, the leader offered suggestions for increasing the catch. When birds circled the bait but would not come down, it was suggested that raw meat be used. Sometimes the birds flew by without appearing to see the bait, and decoys were recommended.

The leader did not have a pit for his own use but remained in camp. However, if the wind was from the wrong direction in the morning and the men were out hunting game, he could go into any of the pits should the wind change to the west.

Evenings were spent in storytelling. The leader would acquaint the trappers with the myths associated with eagle-trapping. There were many of these myths, and a good leader would be able to consume every evening for the usual four weeks in camp without exhausting his stock. Each was related in great detail with endless repetitions. Some of the longer myths consumed four nights in telling; others were short and could be related in one night. All were expected to listen attentively while seated on a buffalo robe. Those who nodded were pinched with the bird stick. An example of the stories told is given in the Appendix.

The position of women in eagle-trapping ceremonies varied among bundle-owners. (1) Most bundle-owners prohibited women from entering the ceremonial lodge or looking inside. (2) Several bundle-owners had special rites to which women were invited when birds had been caught. (3) A few bundle-owners required a menstruating woman to come into the lodge and breathe the smoke from sage burned at the four corners of the fire pit.

Unless special rites relative to the women were purchased, they were required to stay away from the ceremonial lodge and its vicinity. The right to bring women into the lodge was a separate purchase not essential to trapping eagles. There were separate songs and a myth, giving the right to call in a menstruating woman, which could be purchased. It referred to the capture of the leader of the eagles who, in return for having her life spared, promised unusual success if her song was sung when a menstruating woman was brought into the lodge. The consensus of both

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Mandan and Hidatsa informants was that women took a more prominent place in Mandan than in Hidatsa ceremonies and that bringing women into the lodges was a Mandan rite that some Hidatsa bought. This native belief is borne out by a woman's right to perform the Okipa ceremony with her brother's assistance and to own bundles of deceased relatives until a successor had qualified.

In the selection of eagle-trapping territory, consideration was given to the suitability of the region for hunting. Some informants thought that not more than one-third of the days were suitable for catching eagles. When the winds were not from a westerly direction, the party went out hunting and received their orders from the Chief of the Hunters, whose place in the ceremonial lodge was near the head of the lodge on the left side and opposite the leader.

The office of Chief of the Hunters was filled by the leader when selecting the places for the men when first entering the lodge. In mythological times, Two Men[40] discovered Black Bear's cub carrying a clay pot in which he cooked his food mysteriously, and, resolving to live leisurely thereafter, they stole the vessel. The cub chased them into Dog Den Butte and captured them with his snare. Cub contemplated killing them, but they agreed to do the hunting[41] for the eagle-trappers if their lives were spared. In time they acquired the position of leaders of the hunters.

The eagle-trapping territory was distantly removed from the summer villages in a region not occupied permanently by any tribe.[42] Except for sites on the east side of the Missouri River, the territory was deeply eroded with isolated wooded areas along, and adjacent to, the principal streams. The badlands region along the Little Missouri River and its tributaries was a favorite habitat of the elk, black-tail deer, and mountain sheep. White-tail deer remained more or less in the wooded bottom lands of streams, while buffalo and antelope ranged in herds and bands on the high grass plains a few miles from the principal streams.

40. See my manuscript on "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization" for an account of the exploits of these two characters.

41. Their medicine was the arrow.

42. See map of eagle-trapping camps (Fig. 28).

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223 224 Eagle-trapping expeditions were organized for a dual purpose, namely, the securing of feathers and of a winter's supply of meat and hides. Crows Heart thought that, taken year after year, the meat and hides secured had greater worth than the feathers. As he explained, it was not unusual to return without feathers, but game was always abundant once one reached territory not ordinarily hunted in. He remarked, on many occasions, that a village as a unit would never go to rough country on a summer hunt, as there would be few buffaloes there, and it would be difficult to surround them because of the uneven topography. There was the further danger of ambush. The rough lands were hunted over by small bands, chiefly eagle-trappers and war parties.

223 224 505 The appearance of ice on the edges of streams was the signal for the eagle-trapping expedition to return to the village. Before horses became numerous in the villages, it was customary to travel overland to the trapping sites, where bullboats were made of buffalo and elk hides for floating back the meat and hides to the village. In order not to be caught along the way by a sudden freezing of the river, it was imperative that trapping cease immediately with the first appearance of cold weather.

224 251 281 While in the trapping camp, the women received the meat and hides brought in by the men. The meat was cured on scaffolds, and the hides were dried or made into bullboats. Special effort was made to secure mountain sheep, as the badlands were the habitat of these prized animals, used for men's shirts and women's dresses, since their skins tanned softer than any other hide. Bears Arm, in explaining the importance of the meat and hides secured on these expeditions, stated that single women [581] tried to marry young men so they could go along to help cure the meat and hides, knowing they might marry one so lucky as to kill a white buffalo.

223 361 ● 171 221 621 Mandan tradition appears devoid of reference to recent division of a village population into small eagle-trapping bands during the winter. Such is not the case with the Hidatsa, however. In the Earthnaming ceremony of the Hidatsa there is reference in the myth to the division of the village into small bands camped along the Little Missouri River in eagle-trapping lodges during the winter. At least two of the clans, the Maxoxati and

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AwaxEnawita, trace their origin to these small winter camps. Bears Arm explained that, in former times, the women's lodges were the same as the men's and that, on termination of the trapping season, the altar was removed and the bundle closed, after which the lodge was no longer considered sacred. The leader's wife and family came to his lodge, and the other trappers returned to their wives' lodges for the winter. Before the spring thaw, the various bands returned to the summer village to prepare for the planting of gardens. If this fall and winter division of the Hidatsa villages into bands was customary, as mentioned in tradition and mythology, the custom had been superseded by the winter village system by the opening of the historic period on the Upper Missouri River. By this time each summer village, which we have come to call the permanent village, had its corresponding winter village. The summer village was situated on one of the upper, grassy terraces adjacent to the Missouri River, with the winter village situated in heavy timber on the river bottom. The entire population of a summer village would move to its selected site, and there would be a winter chief selected each year.

There is no reference in the mythology to the breaking-up of the Mandan summer village into winter bands, but each village might build a winter camp to avoid the tedious task of bringing wood a considerable distance to the village. After a few years, all available wood near a summer village would be exhausted, except for driftwood in the river. From all available data, there is no evidence that the Mandan selected new chiefs for the winter period.

We may conclude that the Hidatsa practice of naming a winter chief grew out of the custom of breaking up into eagle-trapping bands under a leader in the fall, his authority continuing after the closing of trapping until the return of the party to the summer village. Wolf Chief explained that this could be done formerly, as there were fewer enemies, but that it was inexpedient in later years, as it was necessary to defend the villages the year round. It is possible, however, that the Mandan abandoned this custom somewhat earlier because of greater pressure from enemies.

A brief ritual closed the eagle-trapping period. It was essen-

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Henry says,[1] the men were tall, stout and well built. Maximilian also testifies along the same line: "Most of the Mandans are vigorous men, strong and large."[2] And adds later that they were a strong race, a little above medium height, possibly not as large as the Minnetarees, robust, with broad shoulders.[3] Judging from the information so far, the Mandans should be considered a large race, but on the other side there is the statement from Catlin[4] that the stature of the Mandans was below the ordinary, but they were well proportioned. All of these observers but Catlin thus speak of the Mandans as above average height. 141

For a further description of the Mandan physique there are only a few words from Maximilian,[5] who says that they had a less aquiline nose than their neighbors, less prominent cheek bones than the Dakotas; thin noses and straight; long, narrow eyes of a deep brown, a little raised and contracted at the inner corner; large mouth, large angular jaws, various shaped heads, but foreheads no lower on the average than among Europeans. 142

VILLAGES:—The Mandans, as has been said, were a sedentary tribe and lived in fixed villages for long periods of time. In these villages they built lasting lodges of a type similar to those of the Arikara, Omaha, and other tribes lower down the Missouri, though with small differences in the details of construction. The villages were usually well fortified, neat and orderly in the early days, but a considerable change seems to have come upon the people after their misfortunes, for there was much less care taken in the arrangement and fortification of the villages in their later locations. The first description of the Mandan village is from Verendrye, who makes it appear almost a model town. As this is the only description of the Mandan villages during the prosperity of the nation,[1] a summary of his account is here given:[6] 361 [171]

"Many people came to meet us but nothing in comparison with what appeared on the ramparts and along the trenches. . . . . Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts which can be removed when the enemy threatens. . . . . If all the forts are

[1] Op. cit., p. 341. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 29. [3] Ibid., p. 372.
[4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 95. [5] Op. cit., p. 87. [6] Op. cit., pp. 17-23.

[1] [ie., about 1738. See p. 86. -- Analyst]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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In the center of the village was a large open space of about four acres[1] and in the center of this was the "Ark of the First Man." This was in the shape of a hogshead, of planks and hoops.[2] It was open above, the planks were embedded in the ground, and the hoops were branches tied around to hold these together. The Mandans called this the Big Canoe[3] and in it were some of their greatest medicines. This open space was the seat of all their festivals, dances and ceremonies, and here also they played their games of Chungkee or Skohpe. The space was closely surrounded by houses placed at equal distances apart and all facing the center. The largest of these lodges on the south side of the area was the medicine lodge, and on a pole above this was a figure of skin, with a carved wooden head, which represented the Evil Spirit.

About one quarter of a mile or less to the south of the village was a race-course; a hundred or more scaffolds on which the dead were deposited; slides for their games were also made outside the palisades. The ground about the houses was honeycombed with pits and caches in which most of the food and many of the valuables of the inhabitants were stored. The house roofs formed a general repository where bull boats, buffalo skulls, pottery, sledges and people were scattered promiscuously over the rounded surface, around the edge of which Bradbury says they built a sort of low railing.

Houses:—The houses themselves were many times described, sometimes with considerable variation, and it is highly probable that there was more or less variation of construction in the minor details. They were distinguished from those of the Arikara in that the ground was first excavated, and that they were rather hemispherical, whereas the houses of the latter were more conical, like those of the Pawnee. Catlin[4] places the average size of the houses at from forty to sixty feet in diameter, depending on the size and importance of the family, and Henry[5] tells us that the one in which he himself stayed was ninety feet in diameter.

[1] Henry: vol. I, p. 338. "Sixty feet across," Maximilian: p. 386; "One hundred and fifty feet," Catlin: vol. I, p. 68.
[2] Catlin gives this as eight to ten feet high, Maximilian as four or five.
[3] Catlin: vol. I, p. 66. [4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 61.
[5] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 338.

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Between every pair was a large post. An elevation showing some of the details is reproduced from Morgan in Figure 1, and a ground plan, in Figure 3.

The sedentary character of the Mandans and the fact that they practiced agriculture led to the development among them of several cultural features not found among the purely hunting tribes. In common with most sedentary tribes they made use of caches or storage pits. Henry[1] gives a description of them saying that, in the fall after harvest, the corn was dried, shelled and put in deep pits. These were about eight feet deep, with a mouth just wide enough for a person to get in, but the inside was hollowed out larger and the sides and bottom were lined with straw. The cache contained twenty to thirty bushels of beans or corn where it kept for several years. The caches were scattered everywhere about the village. Catlin mentions caches, saying that they placed corn in pits six or seven feet deep, jug shaped, and tightly closed at the top.

DRESS:—The dress of the Mandans in general was much like that of their neighbors, at the later period of their history at least. There were however some minor differences. Verendrye says that at his visit the men went naked, except for a carelessly worn buffalo robe—not even wearing a breech cloth. The women wore very little as a rule, their only article of attire being an apron about the waist, a hand's breadth wide and a foot long. But he adds later that some of them wore a gown of very soft deerskin. It is probable that other articles of dress were borrowed from their neighbors as time went on.

The men and women both began the day with a bath, after which the body was carefully oiled with castoreum. For any ceremonial or feast the body was also painted in colors, these being mixed with grease. After the bath the face and hair were nearly always whitened. The men in Maximilian's time usually wore a breech cloth, of black and white cloth, and moccasins with little or no ornamentation. The upper part of the body was usually naked as they seldom wore the leather shirt used in many other tribes. Even in the winter, Maximilian says they wore only the buffalo robe over the upper half of the

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 360.

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body. The small boys went naked but the girls wore a leather dress similar to those of the older women. The woman's dress was the buck-skin tunic which went just below the knee, a girdle held it at the waist, the sleeves were open and the base of the skirt was often fringed. Bead necklaces and earrings were worn, and leggings which did not reach to the knee. The men also wore leggings which were the counterpart of those found among the other plains tribes.

Although the Mandans ordinarily dressed very plainly, yet for the feasts and ceremonies they arrayed themselves as gorgeously as did any of their neighbors, and in practically the same way. Then they wore richly embroidered leather shirts, moccasins covered with quill work, necklaces of elk teeth, bears' claws, odorous roots and large glass beads, with fine painted and embroidered robes, tobacco pouches, quivers, medicine bags, and all the paraphernalia of the plains ceremonial dress. Scalps were used as among the Dakotas, ceremonial pipes and bows were carried. The head-dresses of war eagle, hawk, crow, and raven feathers were worn by members of different societies and occasionally the head-dress of two small polished pieces of buffalo horn was worn. This last was found frequently among the Dakotas. Antelope and deer hoofs were used often as a fringe of bangles along the shirt hem or the sides of the leggings.

The Mandans had a peculiar method of dressing the hair, unlike other Siouan tribes but very much like the Arikara. The hair of the men was allowed to hang down to the thighs, or even to the knees, it was separated into a number of strands, each of which was stuck along its whole length, two or three inches apart, with lumps of mixed glue and colored clay, making nearly solid plaits one and a half inches thick. Oftentimes these plaits were pieced out with beaver skin strips or hair from scalps. One lock of hair hung down forward over the nose, and this was unornamented except for a red ribbon tied about it. There were two copper strips covered with blue and white glass beads woven with the hair on the sides. These hung by one end and were also decorated with dentalia. On the back of the head was an ornament, flat, three or four inches thick, of wood or twisted metal wire. It was fastened to the hair and

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302 hung down to the shoulders. It was covered with quill work in different colors. On its top was placed horizontally an eagle
[171] feather the base of which was covered with red cloth. The usual Siouan head-dresses were also worn. In every day life, however, Maximilian says the hair was knotted up in a
304 tuft. The Mandan men tattooed, but never on more than one half of the body. Usually the right breast and upper arm was tattooed with black parallel lines, accompanied by a few other figures. Occasionally the fore-arm and some of the fingers were tattooed. Occasionally also the women tattooed, but to only a small extent. Ermine was used in nearly all of their finest dresses, and tails of other animals as well as different sorts of bird feathers had especial signification in ceremonial or war
[171] costumes. Altogether, as Catlin says, the dress of the Blackfeet, Sioux, and Mandans was practically alike. The great noticeable difference seems to be that the Mandans had much less regard for clothing than did most of their neighbors, they had a tendency toward simple apparel, and the buffalo robe was their original and only absolutely necessary garment.

411 WEAPONS:— The arms of the Mandans as well as their other culture features were much like those of their neighbors. They used the customary things — bows and arrows, lances, shields, knives, and tomahawks, and had in addition a peculiar weapon of their own called a bow-lance. The knives and arrow points were at first of stone as were the axes and tomahawks, but stone implements soon fell into disuse when steel ones were obtained. The Mandan bows were usually of elm or ash wood,
[321] and rather short, with cords of twisted sinews. Occasionally, however, a bow of bone or horn was seen. Catlin describes such a one, It was short and had a sinew backing, while the cord was made of three twisted sinews. With the bow was usually a quiver of mountain lion, wild-cat, or wolf skin, the whole hide being used. The arrows of the Mandans were much better made than those of their neighbors. They were feathered with hawk and eagle feathers which were attached in a short spiral, a red line wound round the arrow in a spiral from barb to base. There were hunting points and war points: the for-

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mer unbarbed and securely fastened to the shaft, the latter barbed and loosely attached. 411

The lances were two-edged points fastened to a shaft of ash wood, some six or eight feet long, ornamented with tufts of eagle plumes. The knives were at first of stone, but were soon replaced by the European steel ones. The tomahawks were of several sorts and are all duplicated among those of the other Sioux tribes. The shield was an important part of a man's equipment, it was of buffalo hide whitened with white clay and with a large painting of the owner's medicine on the front. The bow-lance was a purely ceremonial weapon and was passed down from father to son to be used in the dances. Maximilian describes it as a long bow with a spear point on one end, the whole decorated elaborately with eagle plumes and other ornaments. [428]

MANUFACTURES: — The beds of the Mandans were built up from four posts sunk in the earth to form a rectangle of suitable size, with poles lashed across from one to the other, about one foot above the ground. Over the cross poles a green buffalo hide was stretched and allowed to dry, thus forming a springy foundation; around the sides and across the top hides were also stretched, giving the whole bed the appearance of a large box. A small opening was left in one of the sides through which to enter, and the whole interior was piled with buffalo robes. These beds held several persons. 352

The Mandan boats, bull-boats they were called, also merit a description. They were circular, made over a frame of bent willows, which consisted of two hoops held in position by cross pieces; over the whole a raw buffalo hide was stretched, hair in, and sewed to the upper rim. They were about six feet in diameter and could carry very heavy loads. For a paddle a pole some five feet long was used. It was split up the end where a flat board about two and a half feet long was inserted and bound on. The boat was paddled from a standing position, and made half a revolution at every stroke. This same sort of boat was used by the Arikara and Hidatsa. 501 171

For the rest their material culture did not differ greatly from that of the surrounding nomadic tribes, only a brief enumeration therefore of the manufactures and utensils is necessary.

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met the returning hunters at a short distance from the village, and the hunters dropped portions of the meat for them. 224

When the Missouri broke up in the spring large numbers of buffalo were drowned and floated down the river. The Mandans usually caught large quantities of these as they floated by, and esteemed them as better than the fresh meat. Henry says that meat was nearly always hung up till partially decayed, after which it was better liked. The intestines of the buffalo were considered a good food and were always eaten. The Mandans made pemmican, as did all of the plains tribes, grinding up the dried meat and packing it in parfleches, after which buffalo fat was poured in. 252

Probably the antelope were next in importance to the buffalo. These were caught in large bands by means of what were called parks. At the head of a coulée an enclosure of branches was made with a narrow opening from which two fences of branches led away in the shape of a funnel, extending for a mile or often more. The Indians, on horseback, by surrounding a band of antelopes could gradually work them towards this enclosure, through the gate of which they were at last forced to go. The entrance was then guarded and the hunters knocked the animals on the head with the stone war clubs; a hundred or more at a time were often killed in this fashion. 224

Wolves and foxes were trapped in pitfalls which were dug to a depth of eight or ten feet, covered with branches and baited with pieces of buffalo meat. Beaver and other small fur-bearing animals were caught in traps. Bears were killed only occasionally as the Indians did not like to attack them. Cat-fish and sturgeon, as well as smaller fish and turtles were caught along the river, where unios and snails were also gathered. 226

The larger birds were caught in a rather peculiar fashion. The hunters usually went to the Bad Lands to hunt them. There a pit was dug in some likely place. Bait of small pieces of meat was scattered about, after which the hunter concealed himself in the pit, dragging over the top a covering of branches with bait upon them. Then he waited patiently, often for a day or more till a bird should alight on the branches; as soon as this happened the bird was grasped and pulled down into 223 171

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223 the pit where it was dispatched and the hunter waited for another. This method was also used by the Hidatsa, and so in fact nearly all the Mandan hunting methods and customs were duplicated among their neighbors. The only important exception was the Mandan custom of giving a share of the meat to anyone who might come to the home of a successful hunter and ask for it. Henry tells us that the Hidatsa and Amahami did not have this charitable custom.

721 WAR:— Among most of the Indians, war was the chief occupation of the men, and the Mandans in this respect differed little from the other tribes. They were constantly in danger from their more numerous enemies, the Dakotas, and in addition frequently had disputes with other smaller bands. The Mandans were not a warlike people, and fought only when necessary; but when the time came they were among the bravest and most fearless warriors of the region. Maximilian says that they had been known to send war parties as far as the Rocky Mountains against the Blackfeet and as far east as the Red River against the Ojibwa. Their chief enemies were, however, the Dakota, the Cheyenne, and at times the Arikara. The custom of sending out war parties was not as usual here as among 721 their neighbors, the Hidatsa. The system of rank in the village 554 was to a considerable extent based upon military prowess; 301 the wearing of different insignia which indicated each man's 302 deeds was a common device. Those who had made a coup wore a wolf's tail at the heel of their moccasin. If a man was the first of a party to touch and kill an enemy, he painted a spiral line about his arm, with another winding in the opposite direction with three cross stripes. For the second enemy he painted his left legging a reddish brown. If he killed an enemy in equal fight before any other enemy was slain, he could put a wolf's tail around each foot. For the third coup two lengthwise stripes with three cross stripes were painted on the arm, this was the most honorable coup and no other distinctive marks were in use, except that another eagle feather might be worn in the hair for each additional coup. If a man made his coup after others were made, the end of the wolf's tail was cut off. Six little wooden sticks worn in the hair showed that a man

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had been shot six times; some wore a wooden knife, a sign they had killed an enemy with a knife. Maximilian describes one man, a chief, whose face was painted half yellow and half red, with stripes made by rubbing the color off; his arms had seventeen lines showing the number of his deeds, and on his breast, in yellow, was a hand showing that he had made prisoners. 721 554 361 382

When a youth first wished to lead a war party he at once acquired a medicine. Then he solicited his young men friends by presents and assurances of the efficacy of his medicine and after feasts and dances he departed with as many followers as he could get. In the large war parties there were four real leaders and sometimes three others called bad leaders. Each real leader carried a medicine pipe in a case on his back. To become a chief it was necessary to begin as a war party leader, then to kill a man while in a party where the candidate was not a leader. Again, while following another leader, he must be the first to discover the enemy and kill one of them, and lastly he must have owned at some time a white buffalo hide. Each warrior carried about his neck the whistle of his band, and at the moment of falling upon the enemy these were blown and the war-cry was sounded. 701 554 778 726

The Mandans seldom took male prisoners but even when taken they were never tortured. As soon as a prisoner had entered the village and eaten corn he was considered as one of the nation; the women, however, could go out and meet the returning party and kill the prisoners then. Scalps were dried and used in decoration. When a successful war party returned they were met by the women and children who entered the village with them dancing the scalp dance. The warriors painted the face, and often the whole body, black, and the scalp dance was danced in the medicine lodge four nights, then later in the middle of the village. If no Mandan was killed in the campaign, the dance was kept up for six months. 727

In all these war customs we find nothing more than the general plains ideas such as were found in all the Sioux tribes and among most of their neighbors. [171]

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Skohpe, Tchung-kee or Billiards as some have called it. Henry[1] gives a good account of the method of play: 524

"Two persons are each provided with a stick six feet long on which are cut a certain number of notches an inch long; in the intervals of which are fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of diverse colors, with three pieces of wood sixteen inches square one near each end and one in the middle; these are perforated in the center and through them is passed the rod .... Each notch has a particular mark..... The ground is a smooth level place forty paces long by five broad. The players stand side by side and start from one end .... and trot .... half way through, when one of them throws a ball .... and both players push their rods forward to overtake, and keep pace with the ball. They then examine the bunch at which the ball stops."

Catlin[2] also describes it, saying that Tchung-kee was played on a smooth clay pavement. Two champions chose sides. One rolled a stone ring, the other slid a stick alongside, this stick had leather projections on which the ring should catch. The points were game, one, two, and four, depending on which projection the ring caught upon. The last winner always rolled the ring. If either failed he forfeited the amount of the number nearest to which his stick stopped and lost his throw, another taking his place.

There seems to have been two forms of the game. The Hidatsa and Arikara played it, the latter considering it to some extent as a religious ceremony. Maximilian[3] tells us that the Pawnees also played it, but differently. Similar games were found throughout the southeast. 524 171

In addition to Skohpe the men had horse races, foot races, and, according to Maximilian, sham battles. Catlin speaks of the games of moccasin and platter. Verendrye says the men played a game of ball on the ramparts, but this was probably Skohpe. The horse race was run in a circle about the village. Maximilian tells us that as many as twenty men ran in the foot races, and the races are mentioned by other writers. The men raced usually over a course about seven miles long. They had 526

[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 363. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 132. [3] Op. cit., p. 417.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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561 the buyers. The first band was that of "The Dogs Whose Names Are Not Known." To this band boys from ten to fifteen years of age could belong. Maximilian was told that at first older men might belong to this band but that this was afterwards changed. Admission to this society and the learning of the dance was bought from a member by the boy's father. Maximilian says that the dances of all the bands were about the same, the differences being in the songs. Each band had a particular drum and rattle.

The second band was the "Band of the Crows" composed of men from twenty to twenty-six years of age.[1] There was usually an interval between the first and the second band when the man belonged to no group. Crow plumes were the distinguishing feature of this division.

561 625 623 [78] The third society was the "Soldier Band" and was composed of the most distinguished warriors of the tribe. The members of this band could never retreat before an enemy. Another feature was its possession of two sacred pipes. All members of the higher bands belonged at the same time to this one. This group had charge of policing and regulating the [71] village, a well-known feature of the Soldier Band among the Sioux and other plains tribes. They formed a committee which regulated all the important affairs of the nation, fixed the time for hunts and applied all the laws.[2]

561 The fourth division was the "Dog Band." Three members from this wore a red cloth down the back such as all the first band wore. These three were known as the Dogs, and anyone could throw a piece of meat on the floor or in the fire, saying "There, Dog, eat," and any of these three must obey.

The fifth band was that of the "Buffalos" or "Wolves." These in dancing wore the skin of a buffalo head with the horns. The two bravest, chosen by all, who never under any conditions could flee from an enemy, wore the whole head and horns and [53] looked through artificial eyes. This was the only band which had a wooden drum. In this society there was also one woman who offered the two head dancers a basin of water as they danced.

[1] Op. cit., p. 409.

[2] Ibid., p. 411.

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The sixth group was that of the "Black-tail Deer" and consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws. 561

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy into the "Soldier Band." Another was the "Old Dog Dance." The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The "Hot Dance" was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water. 561 424 535

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four of these of which the first was "The Band of the Gun" which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the "River Band." The third band was the "Hay Women" who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the "Women of the White Cow," most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the chin. 561 [304]

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infidelity was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue among the women was held in high esteem but was rather scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place 595 611 562 684 [586] 831 171

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831 among the Arikara and Hidatsa. The men boasted their love
171 exploits, and carried often about the village small bundles of sticks each representing a conquest, or one large stick with stripes indicating the number; this was also a Hidatsa custom.

585 When a man wished to marry, after obtaining the girl's and the father's consent, he led horses to the door of the father's house and tied them there. Then the father took the same number of his own horses and tied them to the young man's door. After this the girl cooked corn each day and carried it to the young man's house for a certain number of days. Then the young man went to the father's house and claimed his wife. The young people either built a new home or lived with one of their parents, in which case the father remained master of the
587 house. On marrying an eldest sister, a man acquired the right of marriage over all the other sisters. Catlin tells us that the girls usually married at from twelve to fourteen years of age.

858 Children were never disciplined and were always humored
601 by their parents who seemed to be very fond of them. The father's brother and sister were called father and mother. The
606 mother's sister was called mother and her brother uncle.
551 Cousins called each other brother and sister. The mother-in-law was not permitted to address her son-in-law till he had come back with the scalp and gun of an enemy. Someone was usually paid to give the child his name, which was chosen by the parent.

776 RELIGION:—The religious ideas of the Mandans resemble in a number of respects both those of the Sioux and the Arikara. While there are a number of deities, there was one among them to whom special veneration was paid. This one, the creator of the earth and everything in it, and of men, was called the Lord of Life.[1] Next after him came the First Man to whom the Lord of Life gave great power and who acted as a sort of mediator for men. Catlin says he was the only person saved from the great deluge, and he played an important part in the Okeepa. He was worshipped and sacrifices were made to him. Next was an evil spirit who, though powerful, ranks far below the First Man. Fourth on the list was Rokanka-Tauihanka

[1] Maximilian: p. 419.

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171 As has been said there are in the Mandan myths two distinct cycles of tales; there seems to be two sources for the detached stories as well. The first cycle seems to be along the lines of the Siouan and Algonquin stories. The creation myth is much like that of the Chippewa: the naming of the animals, the story of the Sun Boy, and the tale of reaching the First Man by thought, seem to be Siouan in their origin for we find them most important in that stock. The creation myth exists likewise among the Crows, and it is told by the Arikara,—the latter, however, have a more popular creation tale. The Mandan myth is not found among the Skidi Pawnee. The story of the making of the Heart River region is naturally found among the Arikara as are some tales about Lucky Man and the Wolf who seem to correspond to the Lord of Life and the First Man, but none of these characters are found among the Skidi tales where Tirawa, the Creator, has no companion in his work. The tale of the struggle between the Lord of Life and the First Man as to which should be father is distinguishable in the Arikara, but not in the Skidi. The tale of the Sun Boy is, however, found in the Pawnee, but is known also in practically every plains tribe. The story of the child born to the girl from eating cow fat, is in the Crow but not in the Arikara or Skidi. In general so far as comparable material is at hand these tales do not appear to be of Caddo origin, and are in most cases connected with the tales of some other Siouan tribe.

As to the other cycle of tales there is little in the Siouan stories with which it may be compared. The story of an underground origin is developed characteristically in the southwest,—it appears in numerous forms among the Arikara and with even more detail among the Skidi. The first chief in the Mandan migration, the man who led them from underground, is very closely allied with the Corn Mother leader of the Arikara, and the preservation of his skull in a sacred bundle is again suggestive of the southern plains.

The Corn Mother tale seems most clearly related to Caddoan. The tale of the Great Serpent as well as that of the Sun Boy is spread over the whole plains region,—the Crow, the Arikara, the Pawnee, and the Dakota all possess more or less close ver-

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sions of this story. None of the Caddoan Poor Boy stories have been found in the Mandan, but this may be due to the limited extent of Maximilian's collection. It can only be said that the Mandan myths so far as known seem to be about an equal mixture of north and south plains types.

CEREMONIALS: — The Mandan dance system seems to have been rather complicated, and in it are found again the two conflicting influences. In one case the origin of the dances is said to have been due to Ochkih-Hedde, the evil spirit. Again the First Chief who led them out of the ground is said to have arranged all their dances, and the Okeepa, according to Catlin, was instituted by the First Man. There were two sorts of dances; first those in which it appears that anyone could take part, and secondly those belonging to the different societies previously referred to.[1] Of the first kind there were four principal ones, and of these the Buffalo dance and the Scalp dance, although not the most important, were most frequently danced and were practically identical with the same dances of other plains tribes; the Scalp dance was performed by those related to persons with newly acquired coups. The Buffalo dances were of two types. One was for the purpose of getting the good will of influential men and is described by Henry and Catlin. This dance had several obscene features. The other Buffalo dance was danced by the men in relays wearing a buffalo head and its purpose was to bring the buffalo in time of need.

The other two dances deserve more particular mention. Catlin says of all these dances,[1] "Every dance has its peculiar step and song." The songs were understood only by the medicine men and required much application and study. Candidates paid to learn them. This applies particularly to the Okeepa which is the best-known dance of the Mandans. No description is necessary as Catlin has given two very full ones and Maximilian has also given a good account of it. The Okeepa was performed once a year as a rule and nearly every inhabitant of the village had some part to play in it. It lasted four days, and in all the dances, dance groups and ceremonial

[1] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 126.

[Cf. pp. 129-161, Catl. 116 — Analyst]

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535 796 objects, they kept a careful observance of the number four and its multiples. The Okeepa appears to have been quite different from the usual sun-dance ceremonies, although the sun-dance observance formed a part of it. Catlin says that no other nation had such a dance, although many had features of it in their own dances. In some respects it seems to show a rather remarkable similarity to some of the dances of the Pueblo region and very possibly some of these features were transmitted from there through the southern plains tribes. The resemblance is in small details such as the decorating of the ark with willow branches which is much like the preparation of the kisi. Communication with old villages underground was supposed to be established by pounding on the ark, as it was among the southwestern dancers by stepping on the sipapu. From the description of the sacred object in the center of the Mandan altar, it seems to have been something like the Pueblo squash blossoms. Lastly the story of the visit of the First Man to the whites and his institution of the Okeepa, after having escaped them, is much like the origin story of the Pueblo Snake and Antelope Dance. The most peculiar feature of the ceremony was the connection which it had with the flood myth; the ark was supposed to be a copy of the tower in which the Mandans were saved from the flood. It formed the center in all the different parts of the ceremony. The Okeepa had features which have been ascribed by Maximilian to the influence of early missionaries.

535 796 241 The second of these dances was the Corn Dance and this was doubtless of Caddo origin. This dance was danced to the Old Woman Who Never Dies by the old women of the village for whom a number of old men furnished the music. Each old woman carried an ear of corn on the end of a stick and the ceremony was intended to consecrate this corn. After the consecration the corn was distributed, a few grains to each family, by whom it was mixed with the seed corn for spring planting. The ceremony took place when the representatives of The Old Woman Who Never Dies — the water birds — returned north, and a quantity of dried meat was hung up on the scaffolds as a sacrifice. After the dance this dried meat

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became the property of the dancers. Another corn dance was held in the fall, but Maximilian tells us that the purpose of this one was to bring the buffalo. In this dance each woman carried a whole stalk of corn—the corn was called by the name of the water bird which represented it, and a prayer was made to the Old Woman Who Never Dies through these birds. The birds going south were supposed to carry these prayers to their mistress, and in this dance each old woman made a sacrifice of some valuable article. The elements of the corn dance agree in most particulars with those of the Pawnee and southern plains tribes.

BURIAL:—In their burial customs the Mandans show close analogy with the Sioux. Their cemeteries were usually only two hundred to three hundred paces from the palisade and consisted of a number of scaffolds on which the dead were placed. These scaffolds were made on four posts about twelve feet high, the length of the rectangle being about six feet. Across the posts willow rods, just strong enough to support the body, were placed.[1] When a person died he was left in the village but a very short time; the face was painted red, the body was oiled, dressed in the finest clothes and wrapped in a green buffalo skin or at a later period in a piece of cloth. The whole was then tightly wrapped with thongs of rawhide from head to foot. Then other robes were soaked in water and tightly wrapped and tied around the body. After this the corpse was immediately carried out and placed on the scaffold together with a bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco, knife, flint and steel and provisions for several days. In case of a child, it was wrapped up in a small bundle which was tied to the scaffold by a cloth or hide. Catlin says the bodies were placed with their feet to the rising sun. Maximilian says the face was turned to the east.[2] Lewis and Clarke[3] give an account of a different sort of burial which must have been of rare occurrence for we find no mention of anything of the sort elsewhere. It is as follows: "An old man . . . . . one hundred and twenty winters old, he requested his grand Children to Dress him after Death, & Set him on a Stone on a hill,with his

[1] Catlin; vol. 1, p. 89. [2] Op. cit., p. 379. [3] Feb. 20, 1805.

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The Mandan method of burial was used likewise by their neighbors the Hidatsa and in a modified form by the Dakota and nearly all the Siouan tribes. The Arikara, however, used the opposite form, that of interment. With them the dead were buried in a flexed position in graves (lined with stone) and the scaffold system was never used.

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for arrowheads was largely flint. A selection of the different types is shown in Plate XXXIV, figs. *b*, *c*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *q* and *s*.

Flint, chert, and quartzite scrapers were in great abundance. Some were of the "turtle back" form (Plate XXXIV, fig. *l*), flat on one side and convex on the other. Some were irregular flakes with one chipped edge (Plate XXXIII, fig. *c*). Some were roughly rectangular in shape (Plate XXXIV, figs. *e* and *f*), while others were leaf-shaped (Plate XXXIII, fig. *h*).

Flint chips were often found in layers and pockets. Near the bottom of the central cache pit in Work 5, an extensive layer of red and yellow flint chips was encountered. Double handfuls of flint and chert chips were found in various places in the mounds.

Pieces of pumice-stone were often met with in the different village sites. They were used, apparently, as whetstones to sharpen bone awls, and are sometimes deeply grooved as a result of such grinding. Other stones were also used for this purpose.

Plate XXXII, fig. *e*, shows a rasp for smoothing arrowshafts. It is made of a coarse yellow sandstone. It is very similar to rasps found among the Omaha.

Pebbles showing at the ends an abraded surface were common objects in the mounds and cache pits. These were chipping stones and were used in working flint and chert. They were of various kinds of stone, red jasper, diorite, quartzite and sandstone being noted.

Water-worn boulders, seldom over six inches in diameter, were common in all parts of the site. They were such as could be picked up on the prairie or buttes. Layers of boulders were found around the fireplaces in the two house sites explored. An extensive layer was found on hardpan in the eastern end of Work 2.

Some of these boulders gave evidence of having been broken. One showed signs of pecking. This one was oval in shape, and may have been used in shaping the bottoms of pots.

There still remains for consideration a class of ornamented stone objects of uncertain use. Three rectangular flat stones come under this head. All of these stones have diagonal cross

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X 172 321 form the handle. The only sign of wear is on the beak of the bird's head. The use of this object is uncertain, but it is possible that it was part of the paraphernalia of a medicine man.

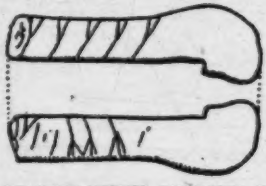

FIG. 12. BONE OBJECT WITH INCISED DECORATION. ½

Fig. 12 represents a portion of a well-made bone instrument which may have had a use similar to the above. This object is decorated with incised markings.

Several pieces of carved bones, representing various animal and bird heads, are reported to have been found in the various village sites, but no opportunity was given to inspect them.

X 172 323 ●171 POTTERY:—The pottery of the Mandans, judging by the fragments found at the different village sites, is one of the most interesting features of their culture. It is an excellent ware, thin, well-made, and with a characteristic development of form and ornament. The excellence of the pottery is the more remarkable when it is called to mind that the Mandans were at the northwestern limits of the pottery area. North of them, indeed, on the Mouse River, some crude pottery of uncertain origin is found. South of them, the Arikara and Omaha practised the ceramic art, being influenced in it by the pottery makers of the Mississippi valley. East of them, for several hundred miles, lived nomadic tribes who were apparently unacquainted with pottery, while the pottery of Wisconsin was too remote to exert an influence.

X 172 323 Mandan pottery is mentioned by almost all the early explorers, but no one gives an extended description of it, or a sufficiently detailed account of the method of manufacture. None of this pottery has been made for many years by the survivors of the tribe, but a knowledge of it can be gathered from a study of the fragments which have been preserved.

The pottery is, for the most part, a black ware, although sometimes it turned dull orange or red from firing. The un-

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markings, when roughly parallel, are either horizontal or vertical. Usually the markings around the necks of the pots are vertical.

Sometimes the upper surface of the rim was impressed with cords or otherwise ornamented. Plate XLII, figs. *f* to *j*, gives representations of the different modes. Another kind of ornamentation, which was only slightly employed, was to form the edge of the pot into a series of broad serrations or crescent-shaped depressions. Apparently there were four or more cusps to the circumference. Examples of the cusps are shown in Plate XLII, figs. *l* and *m*. In this feature the Mandan pottery closely resembles the pottery around the Great Lakes.

Many of the Mandan pots were provided with ears, lugs or spouts, the last evidently used to assist in pouring (Plate XLII, figs. *a* and *e*). A lug is shown in Plate XLII, fig. *b*. Sometimes the ear or lug may have been used only as a detail of ornamentation. Plate XLII, fig. *c*, gives a case in which the presence of the lug is disclosed by the cord marks. Plate XLII, fig. *d*, shows a peculiar spout-like opening which seems too small to have served any useful purpose.

Two or three fragments of pottery showing a perforation were found. The perforation was probably to enable some break to be mended.

No pipes made of pottery were found. The only other article of pottery, besides the potsherds, was the perforated disc shown in Plate XLII, fig. *k*. This object is about an inch in diameter.

VEGETABLE REMAINS: — The materials of vegetable origin in the excavations were nearly all charred and consequently many points about them cannot be considered. However, there are a number of interesting details which coincide as far as they go with historical information concerning the Mandan agriculture. The actual remains of vegetables found were those of corn, beans, squash or pumpkins. The seeds of sunflowers and small black seeds of a sort of pig-weed (*Chenopodium sp.*) were also found.

The corn remains were mostly of cobs, from which the grain had been cut off, leaving only an occasional kernel. One or two pieces of ears with the kernels and part of the husk intact

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MANDAN MEN'S SOCIETIES.

The Mandan System.

Both from Maximilian's account and the statements of my own informants it appears that the Mandan system of men's societies closely resembled that of the Hidatsa. In both cases there was a series of graded organizations, the membership, or rather ownership, of each of which was acquired by collective purchase. The method of buying membership was practically identical, and among the Mandan as well as among the Hidatsa the surrender of the purchasers' wives to the sellers formed a conspicuous feature. Owing to the collective manner of obtaining membership, practically all tribesmen belonged to some one of the societies. If a boy of a certain age did not yet belong to any organization, he was, according to Water-chief, derided as a "Finger-in-his-eye (istá wátke). After selling their last society the retired members, as among the Hidatsa, were known as "Stinking-ears" (nakóxe xu^{n}pé^{e}).

According to Black-chest and Wounded-face, the institution of "friendly" organizations described for the Hidatsa (p. 229) also occurs among the Mandan, but this is denied by Painted-up for both men's and women's organizations. Unfortunately this important point must remain undecided.

There can be no doubt that within the period known to my informants membership in a society was primarily, on the Hidatsa plan, a matter of purchase, not of age. Because, for example, the group that normally would have purchased the Kit-Fox and Little Dog societies failed to buy either from his own class, Black-chest at 62 considers himself a member of these organizations, which he joined at 20 and 25 respectively.

Owing to the very small number of Mandan who survived the epidemic of 1837 and the intimate relations of the survivors with the Hidatsa, the accounts of my Mandan informants may be largely colored by Hidatsa influences, so that Maximilian's data are all the more valuable and will be summarized in the following sections. Of the societies enumerated by my Mandan informants but not given by Maximilian, the Kit-Fox and the Little Dog organizations may be assumed to have been adopted from the Hidatsa in recent times, for both occur in Maximilian's Hidatsa list. In preparing the following comparative table I assume, for reasons already set forth (p. 235), that in Maximilian's day there were distinct Dog and Half-

[i.e., Members of two age groups separated in time by another age group would aid each other in opposition to the demands of the intermediate group. -- Analyst]

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197 or the thirteen villages with which Maximilian's informants credited them,[1] in the beginning of the nineteenth century there certainly were two villages, Nū′pta (Ruhptare) and Mį′tutąk (Mihtuttahangkusch), speaking distinct dialects, as is demonstrated by Maximilian's vocabularies.[2] One of my informants added a third village, Istápe, (given by Morgan as a clan name), where she said the Nū′pta dialect was spoken.

621 It is clear from Maximilian's data that between Nū′pta and Mį′tutąk [184] there was also a minor cultural differentiation in the matter of dances. The question in connection with our immediate problem is how to conceive 614 the relation of the villages to the social divisions. Maximilian tells us that 174 the Mandan called themselves "Nū′mangkā′ke" (*nū′makā′ki*) i. e., people, and were wont to add the name of the village from which they had originally come. Thus, there were Prairie-chicken people, so-called after the Prairie-chicken village; Bear people, Cactus people, Badger people,— all named from corresponding villages.

> Obgleich nun alle die oben genannten Dörfer nicht mehr existiren, so nennen sich dennoch alle diese Indianer ihrer Abstammung zufolge noch nach denselben.[3]

This is a clear-cut statement to the effect that the Mandan clans developed in recent times from formerly distinct local groups. If we assume that the ancient village scheme involved local exogamy and matrilineal descent, or that the latter was grafted on the former, possibly through borrowing, the fusion of people from different settlements would quite naturally lead to the evolution of exogamous clans. The statement of one of my informants that all the clans were found in both Mį′tutąk and Nū′pta is not inconsistent with such a line of development since this condition would be readily brought about by intermarriage. However, all this is pure speculation and the questions involved will only become clearer after considering the social organization of the Mandan as sketched by recent informants and comparing it with that of the Hidatsa and other tribes.

616 The Mandan were divided into non-exogamous moieties corresponding [171] in name to those of the Hidatsa, viz., Three-clans (nū′makā′ki ō′reh nā′mini) and Four-clans (nū′makā′kí ō′re tōp). According to Black-chest, the names of the moieties and the constituent clans were originated by the legendary warrior Seven-wolf when returning from a victorious expedition against the Arikara. Information is very meager as to the functions of the dual division in tribal life, but here there is again close correspondence to Hidatsa conditions. During a general council of the Mandan the Three-

[1] Maximilian, II, 103.
[2] *ibid.*, 557–561.
[3] *ibid.*, 104.

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clans were ranged on one side, the Four-clans on the other. In building an earth-lodge the Three-clan women would put earth on one side and the Four-clan women on the other.

It is altogether improbable that the Hidatsa and Mandan moiety systems should have had an independent origin. The question at once arises, then, which was the borrowing tribe. The complete lack of any trace of the dual division among the Crow suggests that the Hidatsa imitated the Mandan scheme, a conclusion which I was at first tempted to draw. However, there is no satisfactory evidence on behalf of this interpretation. In the first place, the moieties of the Winnebago, the closest linguistic allies of the Mandan, were exogamous, while there is no indication that this applies to the Mandan and Hidatsa divisions; moreover, the Mandan differ from all other Siouans and resemble the Hidatsa and Crow in the rule of matrilineal descent. There is thus no *a priori* reason for assigning the rôle of transmitter to the Mandan rather than to the Hidatsa. Secondly, there is a disparity between the designations of the Mandan moieties and the number of their clans such as does not occur among the Hidatsa. Some informants, to be sure, make the number correspond to the moiety names, and Morgan without speaking of a dual division lists seven clans. But other Mandans give the number as eleven or even sixteen, while nine are reported by Mr. Curtis. The informant who spoke of sixteen clans added that more of them belonged to the Four-clan than to the Three-clan moiety, but this struck me as an obvious afterthought,— as a secondary attempt to harmonize as best he could two sets of contradictory facts. Although the information obtained is hardly sufficient to permit a definite solution, I rather incline to Mr. Curtis's view that the Mandan moiety scheme is derived from the Hidatsa, whose clans conform in number to the moiety names.

The following scheme was furnished by Two-chiefs, herself a member of the first-named clan: —

Three-Clan Moiety.

maxi' 'kina
tamĭ'sĭk
nū'pta

Four-Clan Moiety.

sĭ' pucka nū'mak, Prairie-chicken people
xtaxtăm nū'mak, Young white-headed Eagle[1]
mánakactŏk nū'mak, People all in a bunch[2]
xŏ'xixă' ka nū'mak, Crow people (said to refer to the scalp on a stick)

[1] Mr. Curtis, (v, 145), translates the word "Spotted Eagle."
[2] Presumably Mr. Curtis's Mădhakashtak, "Clump of Wood."

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According to Calf-woman, the Prairie-chicken clan is the most important on the Reservation. This is consistent with Mr. Curtis's data, according to which the larger moiety bears the name of this clan, corresponding preëminence being assigned to the tamĭ'sik in the Three-clan moiety. It should be noted that the Prairie-chicken clan is the only one common to the Hidatsa and Mandan series.

Calf-woman's ŏ'rĕ' 'kūpa (nitĕ) was given by Turtle-woman not as the designation of a clan but of all the seven clans jointly in addressing the entire tribe.

Mr. Curtis states that the marriage of fellow-clansmen was considered improper and publicly ridiculed, but according to my witnesses this rule has long ceased to be absolute. Thus, Calf-woman declared that sometimes people married within their own clan, though there were some who regarded this as wrong; and Two-chiefs, a maxi' 'kina married to a xtaxta', cited the case of her husband's mother who had married another xtaxta', not related by blood.

Kinship Terms.

A brief but in most respects accurate statement as to Mandan kinship nomenclature is made by Maximilian.[1] Recently Mr. Curtis has summarily characterized the Mandan terminology as largely influenced by the clan factor, the father's brother and his clansmen being classed with the father, the father's clanswomen with the father's sister, all mates in one's clan with brothers and all females as mothers.[2] This statement is undoubtedly in large measure correct, but, the last part is manifestly not to be taken literally since the mother's mother and her generation and the sisters are certainly not called "mother." Morgan already had to contend with the difficulty of finding interpreters fully conversant with Mandan and offers an avowedly imperfect list. So far as essentials are concerned, he correctly characterizes the system as of the usual classificatory type. The most important deviation from the norm mentioned in his résumé consists in the classification of the father's sister with the mother in feminine parlance, a distinctive word for paternal aunt being used only by males.[3] My data yield no confirmation of this peculiarity. A remarkable feature found by Morgan among the Hidatsa and Crow but not noted by him among the Mandan, though recorded both by Mr. Curtis and myself, is the confusion of generations in the designation of the father's sister's female descendants

[1] Maximilian, II. 132, 543.
[2] Curtis, V, 145.
[3] Morgan, (a), 184.

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601 through females, all these relatives being classed with the father's sister
●[171] regardless of generation.[1] The question arises whether this trait was
177 borrowed by the Mandan, possibly since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. Another peculiarity not indicated by Morgan in his discussion of the Mandan system, though emphasized in his treatment of the Hidatsa and Crow terminologies, is the classification of the maternal uncle with the elder brother. In Mandan this is optional and there is an alternative specific designation for the mother's brother, while Crow and Hidatsa lack any separate word for this relative. From the great rarity of this feature and the simultaneous use of a distinct word for the mother's brother, which moreover is the only designation given by Maximilian and Morgan, I infer that the Mandan borrowed from the Hidatsa the classification of the uncle with the elder brother. This seems to me the more probable because according to the more trustworthy of my informants the sister's son is not addressed as "younger brother" but only by a distinct term correlative with that for mother's brother. But the Hidatsa mode of classifying the maternal uncle is of a piece with the Hidatsa designation of the female descendants of the paternal aunt, i. e., in both cases the same principle of emphasizing clan affiliation to the extent of disregarding generation finds expression. It is, therefore, likely that both features were borrowed by the Mandan.

601 With the aid of two informants, Two-chiefs and Calf-woman, I secured the following imperfect list of kinship terms.

tatɛ′ (vocative only). Father, father's brother, father's sister's son.

tatɛ′xihe, tatɛ′xis (voc.). Father's sister's husband, husband's father, grandfather, greatgrandfather.

mā′ats, tatɛ′ena (non-voc.). Father, father's brother, father's sister's son.

mā′txis (non-voc.). Father's sister's husband, grandfather.

tà tɛrité (voc.). My fathers, i. e., my father's fellow-clansmen.

nō′atō'oc (non-voc.). Father's clansman (man speaking).

nō′atōre (non-voc.). Father's clansman (woman speaking).

ptū minikɛ′ (voc.). Father's sister, father's sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter's daughter, etc., *ad infinitum*. Non-voc. form: ptū′miniksɛ'ena.

naɛ′ (voc.). Mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.

nā′xic, nā'xihɛ′ (voc.). Grandmother, husband's mother.

mihu′xis (non-voc.). Grandmother.

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[1] Morgan's schedules regarding the descendants of the father's sister are blank for the Mandan, (a), 322–330.

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601 nō'hakàs. Daughter's husband.
pta +i' maratokās. My wife's father.
ptù hinî ks. My wife's mother, my wife's mother's sister.

601 114 It will be noted that beyond the second ascending and the second descending generations no relatives are designated by special terms, lineal and collateral ancestors being classed with grandparents and descendants with grandchildren, regardless of male or female lines.[1] This fact is borne out in detail by Morgan's schedules. According to these, it would appear that no distinction was drawn between the father's father's and the mother's mother's sister, nor between the father's father's and the mother's mother's brother. On the latter point I unfortunately failed to get data, which would have been of interest in comparison with the Hidatsa usage of classing the maternal grandmother's brother with the elder brother. According to Morgan the word for grandchild was also applied to the sister's grandchild (w. sp.), brother's grandchild (m. or w. sp.), and the sister's son's wife (m. sp.).

With the father Morgan, doubtless correctly, classes the mother's sister's husband and the stepfather. His identification of the father's sister with the mother in female parlance, however, seems doubtful since both my informants were women but gave a single word for the paternal aunt, corresponding to one of Morgan's terms for male usage. A second word given by Morgan for the father's sister (m. sp.) [177] *mā-sd-we*, is not Mandan at all but unmistakably the Hidatsa *bacā'wi*, which is used by both sexes. On the other hand, Morgan has only the equivalent of *tà waratore'* for the maternal uncle, while I also obtained a distinct word for women's use as well as the classification with the elder brother (by men only?).

Except for the applications already mentioned, my connotations for the elder brother term closely coincide with Morgan's, which is also essentially true of the younger brother category. The essential point here is that women have a single term for elder and younger brother coinciding with the men's word for younger brother, the men having an additional term for the elder brother.

• [171] In the designation of sisters there is only partial parallelism. To be sure, the women (i. e., members of the sex of the person designated) have two distinct words for elder and younger sister, while the men have only one. The men's generic term, however, does not coincide with either of the women's words so that there are not two words but three to be reckoned with. Here Morgan agrees as regards the men's word, but differs in ascribing a single generic term to the women. Analogy, not only with the brother terms but also with the usage of other Siouan tribes, such as the Winnebago, strongly suggests that Morgan is in error.

My list contains two words for son without clear differentiation. Morgan practically restricts *minika'* to male and *kunika'* entirely to female speech. The latter word is also translated by him to cover the brother's son, sister's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's sister's son's son and mother's sister's daughter's son,—all with a woman speaking. He interprets *minika'* to cover the son, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's son's son and stepson in male speech, and the stepson and father's brother's daughter's son in female speech. The two last-mentioned meanings are not very convincing; more particularly, the father's brother's daughter being classed with the sister, her son would logically be a sister's son, i. e., a "son" for women according to the usual classificatory rules, and it is not at all clear why this particular "son" should be distinguished from others by substituting a word ordinarily confined to male usage. It is further strange that a woman should

[1] [Consult category 116, pp. 12-14 for information on the Kinship terms.—Analyst]

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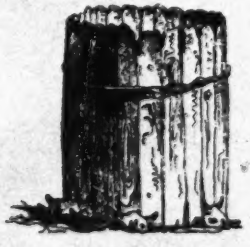
291 garment, with open sleeves, and a girdle round the waist; the hem of this dress is often scolloped and fringed; they ornament the wrists with iron rings, and tie strings of glass beads round their necks, and sometimes in their ears. Their leggins, called, by the Canadians, mitasse, are short, reaching only from the ankle to the knee. Their shoes are simple, and without any ornament.

301 Tattooing is in use among these people, but by no means general. Most commonly only the left half of the breast and the corresponding arm are marked with black parallel stripes, and a few other figures. The lower arm and some of the fingers are occasionally marked; the men do not tattoo their faces, and they are far inferior in this art to the New Zealanders and other nations of the South Seas. Among the women such designs are sometimes seen, but not [56] frequently, and they are chiefly among the women's band of the white buffalo cow.[1] The point of the needle is dyed a dark blue with the bark of the willow soaked in water.

302 171 In Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains it is stated that the Crows rub their bodies with castoreum, on account of its pleasant scent. I must observe, however, that the custom is not confined to one nation, but is practised by the Mandans, Manitaries, Crows, and Blackfeet, and most of the other tribes of the Upper Missouri. They mix the castoreum with a red colour, and with it rub their face and frequently their hair.

361 712 Having obtained a clear idea of the outward appearance of these Indians, we will next consider their habitations, villages, and domestic life. Their villages are assemblages of clay huts, of greater or less extent, placed close to each other, without regard to order. Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, the largest of the Mandan villages, was about 150 or 200 paces in diameter, the second was much smaller. The circumference forms an irregular circle, and was anciently surrounded with strong posts, or palisades, which have, however, gradually disappeared as the natives used them for fuel in the cold winters. At four places, at nearly equal distances from each other, is a bastion built of clay, furnished with loop-holes, and lined both within and without with basket-work of willow branches. They form an angle, and are open towards the village; the earth is filled in between the basket-work; and it is said that these bulwarks, which are now in a



[1] [This is one of the women's age-grade societies.—Analyst.]

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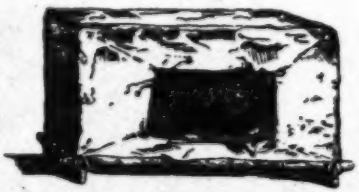
342 height, are long rafters, inclining to the centre; they are placed near each other, and bear the roof. On the outside the huts are covered with a kind of mat, made of osiers, joined together with bark, and now the skeleton of the hut is finished. Over this hay is spread, and the outer covering is of earth. The men and women work together in erecting these huts, and the relations, neighbours, and friends, assist them in the work. The building of the huts, manufacturing of their arms, hunting, and wars, and part of the labours of the harvest, are the occupations of the men; every other kind of work is left to the women, who, though in general well treated, are obliged to perform all the really laborious work. The women fetch fuel, in heavy loads, frequently from great distances, carry water, and, in winter, blocks of ice into the huts, cook, tan the skins, make all the clothing, lay out the plantations, perform field labour, &c. &c. In the centre of the hut a circular place is dug for the fire, over which the kettle is suspended. This fire-place, or hearth, is often enclosed with a ledge of stones. The fuel is laid, in moderately thick pieces, on the external edge of the hearth, crossing each other in the middle, when it is kindled, and the pieces gradually pushed in as they burn away. The Indians are not fond of large fires. The inmates sit round it, on low seats, made of peeled osiers, covered with buffalo or bear skin. Round the inner circumference of the hut lie or hang the baggage, the furniture, and other property, in leather bags, the painted parchment travelling bags, and the harness of the horses; and on separate stages there are arms, sledges, and snow-shoes, while meat and maize, piled up, complete the motley assemblage. (See Mr. Bodmer's drawing of the interior of the hut of Dipauch, Plate XIX.) The beds stand against the wall of the hut; they consist of a large square case, made of parchment or skins, with a square entrance, and are large enough to hold several persons, who lie very conveniently and warm on skins and blankets. (See the woodcut.)



342 In the winter huts they place, at the inside of the door, a high screen of willow boughs, 221 covered with hides, which keeps off the draught of air from without, and especially protects the 171 fire.

The summer huts are very cool, and, generally speaking, have no unpleasant smell. Mr. Say gives a very good description, and a tolerably accurate print, of a Konza lodge, or hut, and, with

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some slight differences, the mode of building resembles, in the main, those of the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras. Among these differences are the mats which are fastened all round in the first hut, and which I did not observe among the tribes that I visited. The beds, too, are arranged in a different manner. The Mandans and Manitaries are seen in their huts, sitting round the fire, employed in all kinds of domestic labour. The man has, generally, no clothing except the nokka, and is often merely smoking, but the women are never idle. In winter, that is, at the beginning or middle of November, these Indians remove, with the greater part of their effects, to the neighbouring forest, where their winter huts are situated. These consist of precisely similar huts, of rather smaller dimensions. Their departure from the summer huts is determined by the weather, but, as beforesaid, is generally about the middle of November; and their return, in the spring, is usually about the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, so that we may reckon that they pass above eight months in their summer quarters. Inside of the winter huts is a particular compartment, where the horses are put in the evening, and fed with maize. In the daytime they are driven into the prairie, and feed in the bushes, on the bark of poplars. There are, probably, above 300 horses in the two Mandan villages; some of the people, indeed, do not possess any, while others, again, have several. The Mandans and Manitaries, like all the other Indians of this country, sometimes make what are here called caches, or hiding-places, in the vicinity of their villages. These caches are holes, or magazines, underground, often so artfully contrived that it is very difficult to discover them. The Indians frequently go from their winter to their summer village, to fetch any articles they may happen to want, as they invariably leave part of their property behind. When they quit their huts for a longer period than usual, they load their dogs with the baggage, which is drawn in small sledges, made of a couple of thin, narrow boards, nine or ten feet in length, fastened together with leather straps, and with four cross-pieces, by way of giving them firmness. Leather straps are attached in front, and drawn either by men or dogs. The load is fastened to the sledge by straps (for such a sledge drawn by dogs see Vignette XXIX). When the snow is deep, they use snow shoes (Plate XXI. Fig. 4), which are described by Captain Franklin, only those of the Mandans are much smaller, about two feet and a half long; whereas in the north their length is from four to six feet. The Mandans and Manitaries have not, by any means, so many dogs as the Assiniboins, Crows, and Blackfeet. They are rarely of the true wolf's colour, but generally black, or white, or else spotted with black and white. Among the nations further to the north-west they more nearly resemble the wolf, but here they are more like the prairie wolf (*Canis latrans*). We likewise found, among these animals, a brown race, descended from European pointers, hence the genuine bark of the dog is more frequently heard here, whereas among the western nations they only howl. The Indian dogs are worked very hard, have hard blows, and hard fare; in fact, they are treated just as this fine animal is treated among the Esquimaux.

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mother-in-law never speaks to her son-in-law; but if he comes home, and brings her the scalp of a slain enemy, and his gun, she is at liberty, from that moment, to converse with him. This custom is found among the Manitaries, who have, doubtless, borrowed it from the Mandans, but not among the Crows and Arikkaras. Among the Chippeways, and the Algonquins in general, the name must not be changed; and persons with the same name must not marry, but consider each other as brothers and sisters. Among all the North American Indian nations there are men dressed and treated like women, called, by the Canadians, Bardaches, of whom Mc Kenzie, Tanner, Langsdorff, and others, have spoken; but there was only one such among the Mandans, and two or three among the Manitaries.

Volney, and some other writers, have spoken rather too unfavourably of the moral character of the aborigines of North America, and their domestic habits. According to them, distrust and hostile feeling prevail among them, for which reason they never leave their huts unarmed; but I can bear witness that they are frequently seen in their villages, as well as in the environs, without arms, and that it is only at greater distances, and when they appear in state, that they carry their weapons in their hands. I have never observed any disputes among them, but, on the contrary, much more unity and tranquillity than in civilized Europe. It has often been asserted that the Indians are inferior in intellectual capacity to the Whites; but this has been now sufficiently refuted; and Harlan is not wrong in saying that, among the races of men, of which Blumenbach reckons five, the American should be ranked immediately after the Caucasian. If man, in all his varieties, has not received from the Creator equally perfect faculties, I am, at least, convinced that, in this respect, the Americans are not inferior to the Whites. Many of the Mandans manifest a great thirst for knowledge, and much desire to hear something of objects of a higher order; and if they were not so much attached to the prejudices inherited from their ancestors, many of them might be very easily instructed. The bad examples which they so often observe in the white men, who roam about their country in quest of gain, are not calculated to inspire them with much respect for our race, or to improve their morality. And if they have not been found inclined to the Christian religion, this is, certainly, in some measure, the consequence of the bad conduct of the Whites, who call themselves Christians, and are often worse, and more immoral, than the most uncivilized of the Indians. Many American and foreign works have taken notice of the striking good sense and wit, the correct judgment of the Indians, in all the occurrences of daily life, and it would be mere repetition here to quote examples. One is often at a loss to answer their questions, founded on correct and natural judgment. The inactive mode of life natural to the Indians, which disdains all laborious exertion, is a great obstacle to their adopting a different system. But they are not deficient in talent for drawing, music, &c., and this is quite manifest at first sight. Several Mandans not only took much pleasure in drawing, but had a decided talent for it. The hieroglyphics are well known, which the Indians employ

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776 773 in the form of an aged man, and, at others, in that of a young man. The first man, Numank-Machana, holds the second rank; he was created by the lord of life, but is likewise of a divine nature. The lord of life gave him great power, and they, therefore, worship and offer sacrifices 776 to him. He is nearly identical with Nanabush among the Chippeways, or the people of the Algonquin language, who, according to the notion of those tribes, acts as mediator between the 171 creator and the human race. Nanabush and the creator frequently had disputes, and the Mandans have similar legends. Omahank-Chika, the evil one of the earth, is a malignant spirit, 776 who has, likewise, much influence over men, but who is not as powerful as the lord of life and 773 the first man. The fourth being is Rohanka-Tauihanka, who lives in the planet Venus, and it is he who protects mankind on the earth; for without his care the race would have been long since extinct. A fifth being, who, however, has no power, is something like the wandering Jew, ever in motion, and walking on the face of the earth in human form. They call him the lying prairie wolf. Besides these there is a sixth being, Ochkih-Hadda, whom it is difficult to class, and of whom they have a tradition, that whoever dreams of him is doomed soon to die. He appears to figure in their traditions as a kind of devil, is said to have once come to their villages, and taught them many things, but has not since appeared. They are afraid of him, offer sacrifices to him, and have in their villages a hideous figure representing him. They worship the sun, because they 776 believe it to be the residence of the lord of life. All their medicines or sacrifices are offered 772 chiefly to the sun, or rather to the lord of life, as inhabiting it. In the moon, say they, lives the old woman who never dies, and who wears a white band from the front to the back of the head; sacrifices and offerings are likewise made to her. They do not know who she is, but her power is great. She has six children, three sons and three daughters, who all live in certain stars. The eldest son is the day (the first day of the creation), the second is the sun, in which the lord of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.

539 The old woman in the moon desired to find a wife for her son, and brought a girl, whom she desired to wait outside the door. When the old woman sent out to fetch her, they found in her place a toad; indignant at the exchange, the toad was boiled in a vessel, that it might be destroyed. But this could not be done, nor could it be eaten, and it was, therefore, cursed, on [821] which it remained always visible as a spot in the moon. The narrator could not say whether the sun was large or small, but, at all events, it was glowing hot. The son married a woman whom they called "the narrow-leaved wormwood." They had a son, of great promise, who appeared destined to act an important part. He was very skilful in making arrows, and versed in all kinds of hunting and catching of animals. He shot birds for his mother, though she had

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forbidden him to kill the prairie larks, yet he shot all his arrows at these birds, but he was unable to kill any. Upon this, one of the birds said to him, "Why will you kill me, since I am related to you?" He dug up in the moon the pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*), for which his mother reproved him, because, through the hole which he had dug, they could see the Manitari villages in the earth beneath. And his mother said, "See, all those men are our relations; I did not intend to descend to the earth yet, but now we must go thither." The father once ordered the son to shoot a buffalo for him, and to bring him all the sinews of the animal; but the son twisted a rope with part of those sinews, in order thereby to let himself down to the earth. Accordingly he descended to the earth in the vicinity of the Little Missouri, but his rope reached only to the top of the trees. If he had had all the sinews of the buffalo, his rope would have reached the ground, but now remained suspended, and swung backwards and forwards. A large stone was thrown at him from the moon, which stone was in existence not very long since. The stone, however, could not kill him, he being medicine, that is, charmed.

The Mandans believe that the thunder is produced by the motion of the wings of a gigantic bird. When this bird flies softly, as is usually the case, he is not heard, but when he flaps his wings violently, he occasions a roaring noise. This huge bird is said to have only two toes on each foot, one behind and the other before. It lives in the mountains, where it builds an immense nest, as big as Fort Clarke. Its food consists of deer and other large animals, the horns of which are heaped up round the nest. The glance of its eyes produces lightning; it breaks through the clouds, the canopy of heaven, and makes a way for the rain. The isolated and peculiarly loud claps of thunder are produced by a gigantic tortoise, which lives in the clouds. When the lightning strikes, it is a sign of anger. They believe the stars to be deceased men. When a child is born, a star descends and appears on the earth in human form; after death it reascends and appears again as a star in the heavens.

The rainbow is a spirit accompanying the sun, and is especially visible at its setting. Many affirm that the northern lights are occasioned by a large assembly of the medicine men and distinguished warriors of several nations in the north, who boil their prisoners and slain enemies in immense cauldrons. The Chippeways are said to call this phenomenon "the dancing spirit," and the milky way, "the path of the ghosts."

Dipauch related a history of the creation and the origin of the Mandan tribe, in the following manner. Though this narrative is equally silly and tiresome, I subjoin it, as giving an idea of the intellectual condition of this people, and the nature of their conversations.

Before the existence of the earth, the lord of life created the first man, Numank-Machana, who moved on the waters, and met with a diver or duck, which was alternately diving and rising again. The man said to the bird, "You dive so well, now dive deep and bring up some earth."

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at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote. One of their chiefs never smoked out of a stone pipe, but always used a wooden one. Mato-Topé never partook of other people's tobacco, but always smoked by himself, with the doors shut. They do not willingly show their medicines or amulets, which are usually kept wrapped up in a bundle or bag, and never opened except on important occasions. They have particular medicine pipes, or, as the English call them, medicine stems, which are uncovered and used for smoking only on solemn occasions. Many make such pipes according to their own taste; such, for instance, was the pipe of Dipauch (Plate XXI. fig. 3). The bowl was nearly in the form of a Turkish pipe, and was made of brownish-red clay; the tube, which was rather short and thick, represented the lord of life in human form, but which it required some stretch of the imagination to discover. The nation preserves a celebrated pipe of this kind as a sacred relic, which no stranger is permitted to see. It has been in their possession since remote ages, and they offered to show it to me for the value of 100 dollars. The Indians cannot obtain such pipes but at a considerable expense: many of the necessary ornaments are not to be procured among them, such as the upper bill and the red crown of a species of woodpecker (*Picus pileatus*, Linn.), a bird which is not found so high up the Missouri. For the head of one of these woodpeckers, which was brought from St. Louis, they gave a large handsome buffalo robe, worth six or eight dollars. If a man possesses such a pipe, he sometimes conceives the idea of adopting a medicine son. The young man whom he is to choose appears to him in a dream; it is, however, requisite that he should be of a good family, or have performed some exploit. He acquaints him with his intention, and, after having provided two similar medicine pipes, he asks his newly-adopted son, whether he is ready to undergo the ceremony of the pipes? The latter frequently answers in the affirmative, and the time for the ceremony is fixed: but, if he has not yet made up his mind, it is deferred. The adoptive father then chooses two young men, who practise the medicine dance together, with the two pipes in their hands. The father often dances, in the morning, on the roof of his hut, and instructs these two young men. When the time arrives, and the adopted son is ready for the ceremony, the father, with all his relations, and the two young dancers, repairs to the hut of his newly-chosen son, and brings him a present of maize, cloth, blankets, kettles, and other valuable articles. The father takes his son by the hand and makes him sit down, after which the company dance round him, with the two pipes; they sing, accompanied by the drum and schischikué, the two young dancers keeping time to the music with their pipes. When the ceremony is over, and the presents laid in one or two heaps, the relations of the medicine son bring horses, cloth, blankets, and other things of value, which the two parties reciprocally divide between them. The father then again takes his son by the hand, makes him rise from his seat, and dresses him in new clothes from head to foot, and likewise paints his face according to his fancy. The dress and pipe are henceforth his property, and he is considered as a real son, who must support and defend his father.

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This custom exists among most of the nations on the Missouri, and even among the Esquimaux there is a somewhat similar usage. If the adopted son and father have not happened to meet for a long time, they make presents to each other; the father gives the son a new dress, and the latter presents him with a good horse. Among all the Indian nations of North America, there is a particular class of men, who are specially engaged in all the above-mentioned ceremonies and medicines. They are, also, the physicians, and are called, among the Mandans, Numak-Choppenih, which signifies medicine man.

The skin of a white buffalo cow is an important article, and an eminent medicine in the opinion of the Mandans and Manitaries. He who has never possessed one of them is not respected. Suppose two men to be disputing about their exploits, the one an old veteran warrior, who has slain many enemies, the other, a young lad without experience; the latter reproaches the other with never having possessed a white buffalo cow hide, on which the old man droops his head, and covers his face for shame. He who possesses such a hide generally offers it to the lord of life, to whom he dedicates it, or, which is equivalent, to the sun, or to the first man. He collects, perhaps, in the course of a whole twelvemonth, various articles of value, and then hangs them up all together on a high pole in the open prairie, generally in the neighbourhood of the burying-place, or in the village before his hut. Distinguished men and chiefs of eminence are for the most part poor, because, in order to gain reputation and influence, they give away everything of value which they possess. A large number of relatives is one of the chief means of acquiring riches, for a young man who wishes to distinguish himself, and to be liberal, does honour to the whole family, who assist him to the utmost of their power. When one of his relations has anything of value, the young man goes to the owner to demand it, and not unfrequently takes it away without ceremony. Sometimes he hangs his head in silence, and then something of value is given him, a handsome dress, a horse, &c. If he wishes to gain reputation and a claim to distinction, it is necessary that he should make presents. All the people in the village notice very accurately what presents are made, and the donor has a right to display all such presents painted on his robes, and in this manner to hand down his reputation to posterity, as has been already related. This and military glory are, in the eyes of these men, the greatest virtues. They dare not draw a stroke too much on their robes for the horses, guns, &c., which they have given away, for the young men keep a most strict account against each other, and universal ridicule would be the immediate consequence of violating this rule. Among the distinctions of any man, the white buffalo hide is the greatest. He who has not been so fortunate as to kill a white buffalo himself, which is generally the case, as these animals are very rare, purchases a hide, often at a great distance from home, and other nations bring them hither, being well aware of the great value attached to them by the Mandans. The hide must be that of a young cow, not above two years old, and be taken off complete and tanned, with the horns,

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LETTER No. 14.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

291 171 The Mandans in many instances dress very neatly, and some of them splendidly. As they are in their native state, their dresses are all of their own manufacture; and of course, altogether made of skins of different animals belonging to those regions. There is, certainly, a reigning and striking similarity of costume amongst most of the North Western tribes; and I cannot say that the dress of the Mandans is decidedly distinct from that of the Crows or the Blackfeet, the Assinneboins or the Sioux; yet there are modes of stitching or embroidering, in every tribe, which may at once enable the traveller, who is familiar with their modes, to detect or distinguish the dress of any tribe. These differences consist generally in the fashions of constructing the head-dress, or of garnishing their dresses with the porcupine quills, which they use in great profusion.

291 171 177 Amongst so many different and distinct nations, always at war with each other, and knowing nothing at all of each other's languages; and amongst whom, fashions in dress seldom if ever change; it may seem somewhat strange that we should find these people so nearly following, or imitating each other, in the forms and modes of their dress and ornaments. This must however, be admitted, and I think may be accounted for in a manner, without raising the least argument in favour of the theory of their having all sprung from one stock or one family; for in their continual warfare, when chiefs or warriors fall, their clothes and weapons usually fall into the possession of the victors, who wear them; and the rest of the tribe would naturally more or less often copy from or imitate them; and so also in their repeated councils or treaties of peace, such articles of dress and other manufactures are customarily exchanged, which are equally adopted by the other tribe; and consequently, eventually lead to the similarity which we find amongst the modes of dress, &c. of the different tribes.

291 The tunic or shirt of the Mandan men is very similar in shape to that of the Blackfeet—made of two skins of deer or mountain-sheep, strung with scalp-locks, beads, and ermine. The leggings, like those of the other tribes, of whom I have spoken, are made of deer skins, and shaped to fit the leg, embroidered with porcupine quills, and fringed with scalps from their enemies heads. Their moccasins are made of buckskin, and neatly ornamented

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head to foot, cleanses and purifies the body, and protects his skin from the bite of musquitoes, and at the same time preserves him from colds and coughs which are usually taken through the pores of the skin. 302

At the same time, an Indian looks among the civilized world, no doubt, with equal, if not much greater, astonishment, at our apparently, as well as *really*, ridiculous customs and fashions; but he laughs not, nor ridicules, nor questions,—for his natural good sense and good manners forbid him,—until he is reclining about the fire-side of his wigwam companions, when he vents forth his just criticisms upon the learned world, who are a rich and just theme for Indian criticism and Indian gossip. 000

An Indian will not ask a white man the reason why he does not oil his skin with bears' grease, or why he does not paint his body—or why he wears a hat on his head, or why he has buttons on the back part of his coat, where they never can be used—or why he wears whiskers, and a shirt collar up to his eyes—or why he sleeps with his head towards the fire instead of his feet —why he walks with his toes out instead of turning them in—or why it is that hundreds of white folks will flock and crowd round a table to see an Indian eat—but he will go home to his wigwam fire-side, and "make the welkin ring" with jokes and fun upon the ignorance and folly of the knowing world.

A wild Indian thrown into the civilized atmosphere will see a man occasionally moving in society, wearing a cocked hat; and another with a laced coat and gold or silver epaulettes upon his shoulders, without knowing or enquiring the meaning of them, or the objects for which they are worn. Just so a white man travels amongst a wild and untaught tribe of Indians, and sees occasionally one of them parading about their village, with a head-dress of eagles' quills and ermine, and elevated above it a pair of beautifully polished buffalo horns; and just as ignorant is he also, of their meaning or importance; and more so, for the first will admit the presumption that epaulettes and cocked hats amongst the civilized world, are made for some important purpose,—but the latter will presume that horns on an Indian's head are nothing more nor less (nor can they be in their estimation), than Indian nonsense and stupidity.

This brings us to the "corned crest" again, and if the poor Indian scans epaulettes and cocked hats, without enquiring their meaning, and explaining them to his tribe, it is no reason why I should have associated with the noble dignitaries of these western regions, with horns and ermine on their heads, and then to have introduced the subject without giving some further clue to their importance and meaning. For me, this negligence would be doubly unpardonable, as I travel, not to *trade* but to *herald* the Indian and his dying customs to posterity. 292

This custom then, which I have before observed belongs to all the north-western tribes, is one no doubt of very ancient origin, having a purely classic meaning. No one wears the head-dress surmounted with horns ex- [171]

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LETTER—No. 17.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

595 171 I MENTIONED in the foregoing epistle, that the chiefs of the Mandans frequently have a plurality of wives. Such is the custom amongst all of these North Western tribes, and a few general remarks on this subject will apply to them all, and save the trouble of repeating them.

Polygamy is countenanced amongst all of the North American Indians, so far as I have visited them; and it is no uncommon thing to find a chief with six, eight, or ten, and some with twelve or fourteen wives in his lodge. Such is an ancient custom, and in their estimation is right as well as necessary. 562 595 Women in a savage state, I believe, are always held in a rank inferior to that of the men, in relation to whom in many respects they stand rather in the light of menials and slaves than otherwise; and as they are the "hewers of wood and drawers of water," it becomes a matter of necessity for a chief (who must be liberal, keep open doors, and entertain, for the support of his popularity) to have in his wigwam a sufficient number of such handmaids or menials to perform the numerous duties and drudgeries of so large and expensive an establishment.

595 556 462 There are two other reasons for this custom which operate with equal, if not with greater force than the one above assigned. In the first place, these people, though far behind the civilized world in acquisitiveness, have still more or less passion for the accumulation of wealth, or, in other words, for the luxuries of life; and a chief, excited by a desire of this kind, together with a wish to be able to furnish his lodge with something more than ordinary for the entertainment of his own people, as well as strangers who fall upon his hospitality, sees fit to marry a number of wives, who are kept at hard labour during most of the year; and the avails of that labour enable him to procure those luxuries, and give to his lodge the appearance of respectability which is not ordinarily seen. Amongst those tribes who trade with the Fur Companies, this system is carried out to a great extent, and the women are kept for the greater part of the year, dressing buffalo robes and other skins for the market; and the brave or chief, who has the greatest number of wives, is considered the most affluent and envied man in the tribe; for his table is most bountifully supplied, and his lodge the most abundantly furnished with the luxuries

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261 As I before observed, these men generally eat but twice a day, and many times not more than once, and those meals are light and simple compared with the meals that are swallowed in the civilized world; and by the very people also, who sit at the festive board three times a day, making a jest of the Indian for his eating, when they actually guzzle more liquids, besides their eating, than would fill the stomach of an Indian.

There are, however, many seasons and occasions in the year with all Indians, when they fast for several days in succession; and others where they can *get* nothing to eat; and at such times (their habits are such) they may be seen to commence with an enormous meal, and because they do so, it is an insufficient reason why we should for ever remain under so egregious an error with regard to a single custom of these people.

I have seen so many of these, and lived with them, and travelled with them, and oftentimes felt as if I should starve to death on an equal allowance, that I am fully convinced I am correct in saying that the North American Indians, taking them in the aggregate, even where they have an abundance to subsist on, eat less than any civilized population of equal numbers, that I have ever travelled amongst.

251 Their mode of curing and preserving the buffalo meat is somewhat curious, and in fact it is almost incredible also; for it is all cured or dried
● 171 in the sun, without the aid of salt or smoke! The method of doing this is the same amongst all the tribes, from this to the Mexican Provinces, and is as follows:—The choicest parts of the flesh from the buffalo are cut out by the squaws, and carried home on their backs or on horses, and there cut "*across the grain*," in such a manner as will take alternately the layers of lean and fat; and having prepared it all in this way, in strips about half an inch in thickness, it is hung up by hundreds and thousands of pounds on poles resting on crotches, out of the reach of dogs or wolves, and exposed to the rays of the sun for several days, when it becomes so effectually dried, that it can be carried to any part of the world without damage. This seems almost an unaccountable thing, and the more so, as it is done in the hottest months of the year, and also in all the different latitudes of an Indian country.

So singular a fact as this can only be accounted for, I consider, on the ground of the extraordinary rarity and purity of the air which we meet with in these vast tracts of country, which are now properly denominated "the great buffalo plains," a series of exceedingly elevated plateaus of *steppes* or *prairies*, lying at and near the base of the Rocky Mountains.

263 It is a fact then, which I presume will be new to most of the world, that meat can be cured in the sun without the aid of smoke or salt; and it is a fact equally true and equally surprising also, that none of these tribes use salt in any way, although their country abounds in salt springs; and in many places, in the frequent walks of the Indian, the prairie may be seen, for miles together, covered with an incrustation of salt as white as the drifted snow.

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173 this man's body is represented—that he wore a robe of four white wolf skins —his head-dress was made of two raven's skins—and in his left hand was a huge pipe. He said, "he was at one time the only man—he told them of the destruction of every thing on the earth's surface by water—that he stopped in his *big canoe* on a high mountain in the West, where he landed and was saved."

"That the Mandans, and all other people were bound to make yearly sacrifices of some edged-tools to the water, for of such things the big canoe was made. That he instructed the Mandans how to build their medicine-lodge, and taught them also the forms of these annual ceremonies; and told them that as long as they made these sacrifices, and performed their rites to the full letter, they might be assured of the fact, that they would be the favourite people of the Almighty, and would always have enough to eat and drink; and that so soon as they should depart in one tittle from these forms, they might be assured, that their race would decrease, and finally run out; and that they might date their nation's calamity to that omission or neglect."

These people have, no doubt, been long living under the dread of such an injunction, and in the fear of departing from it; and while they are living in total ignorance of its origin, the world must remain equally ignorant of much of its meaning, as they needs must be of all Indian customs resting on ancient traditions, which soon run into fables, having lost all their system, by which they might have been construed.

●[17] This strange and unaccountable custom, is undoubtedly peculiar to the Mandans; although, amongst the Minatarees, and some others of the neighbouring tribes, they have seasons of abstinence and self-torture, somewhat similar, but bearing no other resemblance to this than a mere feeble effort or form of imitation.

It would seem from their tradition of the willow branch, and the dove, that these people must have had some proximity to some part of the civilized world; or that missionaries or others have been formerly among them, inculcating the Christian religion and the Mosaic account of the Flood; which is, in this and some other respects, decidedly different from the theory which most natural people have distinctly established of that event.

There are other strong, and almost decisive proofs in my opinion, in support of the assertion, which are to be drawn from the diversity of colour in their hair and complexions, as I have before described, as well as from their tradition just related, of the "*first or only man*," whose body was white, and who came from the West, telling them of the destruction of the earth by water, and instructing them in the forms of these mysteries; and, in addition to the above, I will add the two following very curious stories, which I had from several of their old and dignified chiefs, and which are, no doubt, standing and credited traditions of the tribe.

"The Mandans (people of the pheasants) were the first people created in the world, and they originally lived inside of the earth; they raised many